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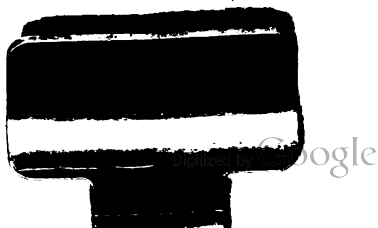
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ON

THE HISTORY AND MODERN USE

OF

THE VERBAL FORMS IN -ING

IN

THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

BY

AXEL ERDMANN.

PH. C. HOLM.

PART I. OLD ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD.

WITH PERMISSION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF UPPSALA  
TO BE PUBLICLY DISCUSSED AT THE GUSTAVIANUM MINUS

MAY 30, 1871, AT 10 O'CLOCK A. M.

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STOCKHOLM, 1871.

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### Works referred to in this part of the essay

- Beowulf**, an epic poem, written in the beginning of the 8th century at latest; the substance of the poem is of earlier, heathen origin. Msc. of the 10th cent. The numbers refer to Grein, *Bibliothek der Angelsächs. Poesie*. Text. I. II: Göttingen. 1857, 8.
- Genesis**, a poetical paraphrase by the monk Cædmon + 680. Msc. of the 10th c. References to Grein.
- Crist and Satan**, a religious poem, probably of later date than the preceding. Ref. to Grein.
- Crist**, a religious poem by Cynewulf. Date uncertain. Msc. of the first part of the 11th c. Ref. to Grein.
- Enigmas in Anglo-Saxon verse**. In the same Msc. as the preceding poem. Ref. to Grein.
- Other poems incidentally mentioned: **Widsith**, **Exodus**, **Elene**, **Andreas**. Ref. to Grein.
- The Anglo-Saxon Laws of Æthelbirht** (king of Kent, baptized 597), **Hlóthhære** (k. of K. + 685), **Wihtræd** (k. of K. + 725): Msc. of the 12th cent. — of **Ælfred** (king of England 871—901), **Æthelred** (k. of E. 978—1016): Msc. of the 10th cent. Ref. to **Ancient Laws and Institutes of England**, etc. London. 1840. fol.
- Orosius**, translated from the Latin by king Ælfred. Msc. of the 10th cent. Ref. to **Bosworth**, **King Ælfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the compendious History of the World by Orosius**. London. 1859. and to **Havercampus**, **Pauli Orosii adversus paganos Historiarum Libri septem**. Lugduni Batav. 1767. q.o.
- Boethius**, translated from the Latin by king Ælfred. Ref. to **Rawlinson**, **Boethi Consolationis Philosophiæ Libri V Anglo-Saxonice redditi ab Ælfredo**. Oxoniæ. 1698 (only a part examined here).

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By Anglo-Saxon, in this part of the essay, is always meant Old Anglo-Saxon.



The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to the year 1066. First part compiled about 891, then continued in several monasteries. Ref. to *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. Vol. I. London 1848. fol. The capital letters denote the different MMsc. A is the oldest (partly of the 9<sup>th</sup> cent.), F the latest (of the 12<sup>th</sup> c.). (The part of the Chron. later than 1066 is not examined here.)

The Homilies of Ælfric, archbishop of York 1023—1051. Msc. probably coeval with its author. Ref. to Thorpe, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*. First Part. *The Homilies of Ælfric*. I. II. London 1844, 6. (only a part is examined).

The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Gospels, made from the Vulgate or some nearly similar Latin translation. The author and the precise date of the version are unknown. Ref. to Thorpe, *The AS. Version of the Holy Gospels*. London 1842. — *Biblorum Sacrorum Vulgatæ Versionis Editio*. Parisiis 1785. — Stamm, *Ulfila*. Paderborn 1858.

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March, *A Comparative Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language*. London 1870.

Koch, *Historische Grammatik der Englischen Sprache*. Weimar, Cassel & Göttingen 1863—1869.

Mätzner, *Englische Grammatik*. Berlin 1860—1865.

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## Introduction.

There is no derivative-ending in the English language which is turned to such a number and variety of uses as the verbal ending -ing. The words formed by it belong to several different parts of speech and by their frequency and importance influence essentially the character of the language. A division of them into the classes of participles, nouns, adjectives, and prepositions, does not comprise all the cases of their extensive range. For besides these unmixed uses, there is one more, of a hybrid kind, which participates of the properties both of a noun and a verb, and by its pliant and easy nature has been widely spread in the language.

That this variety of signification, by which one and the same word may be sometimes a verb, sometimes a noun, sometimes half of each, must be traced to a variety of source, is a well established fact. Scientific grammarians have shown, conclusively, that the modern English verbal form in -ing originated in a gradual approach and final blending together of several old forms of different meaning which took place in that period during which Anglo-Saxon was transforming by degrees into modern English. But concerning the causes and manner of the change, their opinions vary considerably. Have the internal laws of the language effected independently the assimilation of the original forms or has foreign influence also cooperated promotingly? What was the relative attractive power of the forms and, consequently, the way in which they moved towards each other? At what dates did they pass through the successive stages of the

assimilating process? And even, what old forms have contributed to the result? These are all important questions differently answered. It cannot be regarded then as an unnecessary or useless task to attempt to elucidate and settle some points at least of what is obscure and uncertain in this department of English grammar.

Such is the purpose of this essay. The first part, now offered, should be considered chiefly as a preparatory work indicating the facts hitherto ascertained, although, on proceeding further in the examination of the language, these facts will probably be found, in some respects, incomplete and insufficient for the full explanation of the question. But this present want of completeness, if it exists, is a necessary consequence of the critical plan of the essay.

The period embraced in this part is the Old Anglo-Saxon. It shows the language in an essentially inflectional state, preserving, at least in its written literature, the system of its endings distinct and unimpaired. At the commencement of the following era, the New Anglo-Saxon or Semi-Saxon, a perceptible change took place in this respect and uncertainty and inconsistency, gradually increasing with the time, began to interfere with the regular working of the old grammatical system. In consequence of the general law of simplification controlling all languages, and probably also from other concurrent causes, the terminations of the words were weakened, shortened, or dropped, and thus many of them, previously well distinguished, were either amalgamated into a common new form or supplanted by one of those formerly in use. However, as the old forms which had before marked the syntactical relations, were thus passing away, the language supplied the loss of logical precision suffered from that cause, by a more liberal use of auxiliaries and particles and especially by fixing, in the construction of sentences, a more constant place for their different parts. In brief, the language became essentially positional.

The history of the forms which are to be discussed in this essay is closely allied with this general development of the language, and, if divided, must be so in accordance with the stages of this development. But it has been thought

proper to depart in this particular from the division generally made in the history of the English speech, that the termination line of the first period has been drawn here at the end of the Old Anglo-Saxon, separating thus the time of distinct and unmixed forms, on the one side, from that of assimilated and blended forms, on the other. This arrangement, with respect to our subject, has the advantage of being far more natural and clear than any other.

Of the Northern dialect of England no notice could be taken here, from a syntactical point of view, on account of an almost complete want of materials for studying it. Its etymological peculiarities have been pointed out, wherever supposed traces of them have been found in the works referred to. These works are written almost exclusively in the Southern dialect, or, strictly speaking, in that of the West-Saxons, which, by the political importance of the people and the successful literary exertions of king Ælfred, soon acquired a decided ascendancy in the Anglo-Saxon literature.

Lastly, it may be remarked here, with respect to the title of the essay, that the denomination of Anglo-Saxon was not used by the people themselves who are now so called, with regard to their language or nationality. It seems to belong to the Latin of that time. Thus king Ælfred's Latin signature was "Ælfred Rex Saxonum" and in the Latin history of his life, written by the Welshman Asser, the compound word is found, "Rex Angulsaxonum". In the contemporary native literature, on the contrary, the name applied to the people when considered as a whole, is *Angeleyn* or *Englisc* men, and their language is called *Englisc*. For inst. AS. Chron. 901. Ælfred was cyning ofer eall Angeleyn. Cf. ibid. 922. 976. 994. 1001. 1004 etc. Ælfr. Homil. II. Præfatio. Oros. I: 10: 2. Fordon hi mon hét on Creacisc Amazanás, pæt is on Englisc forténde. Cf. Boeth. Introduct.; AS. Chron. Introduct.; Ælfr. Homil. I. Præf.; ibid. 258. 264. II. Præf.; ibid. 282. Matth. XXVII: 46. Marc. XV: 34. But an alteration of the long used and commonly received names would, of course, lead to uncertainty and confusion. The attempt has been made by hypercritical reformers, but it has justly failed.

The grammatical forms in this Old Anglo-Saxon period that can as yet be confidently ascertained as future ingredients of the English verbal form in -ing, are no more than the Participle Present in -ende and the abstract verbal noun in -ung (-ing). To the history of these has been joined a brief sketch of the personal noun in -e-nd, on account of its close connexion with the Part. Present.

## The Participle Present.

The Participle Present is a verbal form which denotes the action of a verb as being the quality of a person or thing. Thus it is, in fact, an intermediate form between the verb and the adjective, participating of the nature of both. According as the notion conveyed by it, refers or does not refer to a certain time, the Participle may be placed with the former or latter class. Its grammatical name is coined with reference to this doubleness of nature.

### Etymology.

The history of the Participle Present in the Indo-European languages shows the formation of three successive stems. The first is made by suffixing -and, or, with vocalic stems, -nd (formerly -ant, -nt) to the present stem of the verb. From this primary participial stem another is formed in -(a)ndja (formerly -(a)ntja), and from this a third one in -(a)ndjan (formerly -(a)ntjan). (See Schleicher, Compendium d. vergleich. Gramm. d. Indogerman. Spr. p. 448—453.)

In Anglo-Saxon, these three participial stems are still found existing by each other's side, each with its own complete set of inflectional endings.

The oldest in -(a)nd survives in the AS. personal noun in -e-nd, declined as a strong substantive.

The second in -(a)ndja is the stem of the AS. Participle in -e-nde (masc. fem. neut. nom.) to which the terminations of the strong or definite adjective declension are

joined. This form in -e-nde, with respect to its final *e* and the manner in which it adds the terminations, is analogous to the adjectives in -e, as *éce*, *blíðe*, that are also original -ja stems (see March § 114). The Participle\*), however, appears never to keep the *e* before endings, as the adjectives sometimes do (*écere*, *éceum*).

The third stem in -(a)ndjan is used in the weak or definite declension of the Participle. As in the corresponding adjectives (-ja stems), *j* has disappeared, leaving, in the Participle, not even those few traces which, in the adjectives, testify to its former existence (*écean*, *middean*).

The present stem of the strong AS. verbs ends in -a, that of the weak, generally, in -ia. In some classes of weak verbs, *i* (*j*) is assimilated with the last consonant, as in *lecgan*, *tellan*, *settan* etc.; (analogous: *habban*, *libban*); *biddan*, *sittan* etc., or dropped, as in *hýran*, *déman*, *styrman* etc. The Participle, conforming to these changes, always joins its suffix to the existing présent stem, with this constant alteration of it, however, in the Southern dialect, that the final *a* of the stem is weakened to *e*; for inst. *wes-e-nde*, *far-e-nde*, *weax-e-nde*, *winn-e-nde*, *ber-e-nde*, *sitt-e-nde*, *ner-ie-nde*, *lif-ie-nde* & *libb-e-nde*, *wun-ie-nde*, *eácn-ie-nde*, *lecg-e-nde*, *syll-e-nde*, *hýr-e-nde*. The noun, of course, in the same manner: *wald-e-nd*, *ner-ge-nd*.

As in other forms, before a vowel, *i* is often geminated to *ig*, or written *g*, for inst. *ner-ige-nde*, *ner-ge-nde*; *lif-ige-nde*, *lif-ge-nde*.

Some verbs show a double Part. Present, although no more than one form of the present stem is elsewhere used in the language, for inst. *sorgende* (older? cf. Gothic. *saurgan*) & *sorgiende* (*sorgian*); *geómrende* & *geómríende* (*geómrían*).

That *e*, relic of an original *j* (*i*), which is sometimes seen in such verbs as *sécan* (-ean). Goth. *sókjan*, *wyrcean* (-ean), Goth. *vaurkjan*, cannot, of course, stay in the Part. Pres.: *séc-e-nde*, *wyrc-e-nde*.

Obs. 1. The Part. of *dón* is *dónde*. Of *feógan*, *feón*, to hate (Goth. *fijan*), are formed *feónd* subst. m. and *feógend* (e?).

\*) In this essay, by Part. standing alone, is always meant the Part. Pres., and by Periphrastic conjugation, the so called Progressive form.

(Gen. Plur. *feógendra inimicorum*, substantively. Psalm. CV: 10 — introduced in order to avoid tautology, as *feónða* stands in the preceding, *feónðas* in the following line). *Freógan*, *freón*, to love (Goth. *frijon*) forms *freónd* subst. m.; *freógan*, *freón* to set free, liberare: Part.?.; *gefeohan*, *gefeón* to rejoice: only *gefeónde*. (Cædm. Gen. 1447. *feónd* Part. Pres. of *feohan*, *feón* (?): *Greiu*); *fón* to take: (*ge*)*fónde* Luc. V: 10; *seón* to see: *seónde*; *gangan*, *gán* has only the full form *gangende*; *búan*: *búende*; *purfan*: *pearfende*, but *gemunan*: *gemunende*, etc.

The form *hæl-y-nd*, instead of *hæl-e-nd*, twice in the Psalms 107: 6, 112: 1.

The paradigm of the noun in *-end* is given here, to facilitate the survey and comparison of the forms.

	Singular.	Plural.
Nom. & Voc.	<i>wealdend</i>	<i>wealdend-as</i>
Genit.	<i>wealdend-es</i>	<i>wealdend-a</i>
Dat. & Instr.	<i>wealdend-e</i>	<i>wealdend-um</i>
Accus.	<i>wealdend</i>	<i>wealdend-as</i>

For other particulars, see noun in *-end*, below.

The paradigm of the strong declension of the Participle Present:

	Singular.		
	Masc.	Femin.	Neuter.
Nom. & Voc.	<i>wealdend-e</i>	<i>wealdend-e</i>	<i>wealdend-e</i>
Genit.	<i>wealdend-es</i>	<i>wealdend-re</i>	<i>wealdend-es</i>
Dat.	<i>wealdend-um</i>	<i>wealdend-re</i>	<i>wealdend-um</i>
Accus.	<i>wealdend-ne</i>	<i>wealdend-e</i>	<i>wealdend-e</i>
Instr.	<i>wealdend-e</i>	<i>wealdend-re</i>	<i>wealdend-e</i>

#### Plural.

	Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.
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	Masc.	Fem.	Neuter.
Nom. & Voc.	<i>wealdend-e</i>		
Genit.	<i>wealdend-ra</i>		
Dat. & Instr.	<i>wealdend-um</i>		
Accus.	<i>wealdend-e</i>		

The strong declension is used when the Participle is not preceded by the definite article or any other determinative of equal strength. (Comp. the weak decl.)

Obs. 1. The old termination *-u* is retained Beow. 581. *wadu weallendu* (neut. nom. pl.) and Exodus 424. *unswiciendo* (femin. nom.

sing.). The later substitute -e is found Beów. 546. wado weallende (neut. nom. pl.); Homil. I: 68. scinende gebytlū (id.). This case itself is very rare. The femin. -e occurs more commonly. Beów. 547. 650 etc.

Obs. 2. The final -e is sometimes dropped, for ex. (masc.) Beów. 1106. Crist. 140. 141. Hymn. III: 22; (fem.) Gen. 1472.

Obs. 3. In the masc. accus. sing. the ending -e gradually encroaches on the use of -ne. When employed adjectively, the Part., however, almost always shows the older form. (-e: Cædm. Gen: 1081).

Obs. 4. Instead of -um, -e is found in the dat. sing. masc. AS. Chron. 616 F. 937 F; Durh. Marc. V: 35. (the construction, in all the three places, is that of the dat. absol.).

Obs. 5. The weak declension, is seldom used instead of the strong. AS. Chron. 1052. C. D. mid geótendan here; Hymn. VII: 25. lifigenda God (Vocat.) After the indefinite article, the Part. has the strong inflection, for inst. Homil. I: 570. Lucas XV: 15.

The paradigm of the weak declension of the Participle Present:

#### Singular.

	Masc.	Femin.	Neutr.
Nom. & Voc.	wealdend-a	wealdend-e	wealdend-e
Genit.	wealdend-an	wealdend-an	wealdend-an
Dat. & Instr.	wealdend-an	wealdend-an	wealdend-an
Accus.	wealdend-an	wealdend-an	wealdend-e

#### Plural.

##### Masc. Femin. Neutr.

Nom. & Voc.	wealdend-an.
Genit.	wealdend-ena (?).
Dat. & Instr.	wealdend-um.
Accus.	wealdend-an.

The weak declension is used when the Participle is preceded by the definite article or by a demonstrative or possessive pronoun, or a personal pronoun in the genitive.

Obs. 1. As the weak declension is sometimes employed in place of the strong, so the reverse is not unheard of, for inst. Matth. XVI: 16. þæs lyfigendes Godes sunu; Homil. II: 356. ðam welwillendum Gode; Matth. VII: 8. þam cnuendum: pulsanti. These irregularities seem to belong to the adjective use of



the Part. The common adj. also partakes of them. But in the genit. plural, the strong termination *-ra* takes the place of the weak *-ena*, which, if it occurs at all, must be very rare.

Obs. 2. The Partic. Present, used adjectively, is found in the Comparative degree, Enigm. XLI: 87. waldendre mightier.

In many instances, a difficulty is experienced in determining whether certain masculine words, denoting persons, should be considered as nouns or as participial adjectives, and, accordingly, be spelt with or without *-e* in the nom. sing. The lexicographers, on this point, neither agree with one another, nor are they always consistent with themselves. Compare: Grein: wigend m. (pl. —); hetend m. (pl. —, or *-e*); ágend (pl. —); wergend m. (pl. —). Heyne: wigend, hetend, ágend, wergend: prt. prs. Ettmüller: wigend, hetend, werjend: m. Grein: búend m. landbúende m. foldbúend, *-e* pl. ceasterbúende pl. brimliðend m. mereliðende, sæliðende, wægliðend, borthæbbende, blædagend (where Gr. leaves out m., he probably regards the word as a participial adj.). Heyne: landbúend prt. prs. foldbúend id. ceasterbúend m. brimliðend m. mereliðend prt. prs. sæliðend id. borthæbbend m. blædagend m. Ettmüller: landbúend m. brimliðend m. etc.

The cause of the confusion is that many words are, or at least may, be used both as nouns and as participial adjectives. As these latter can also stand substantively, it must be dubious, in some cases, where the partic. may drop its ending; or, on the other hand, the substantive either suffer the same loss or take the ending of the partic., whether the word was really felt to be a substant. or a participial adj. substantively used. Both are so nearly coincident in idea, that, perhaps, any difference was scarcely attended to. It is principally with a view to consistency in fixing the grammatical forms, that the question has any interest. Sometimes the difficulty is removed by the occurrence of cases of undoubted distinctness, but sometimes only analogy or signification must decide or the matter be left undecided.

These points seem to be certain:

That the words ending in *-e* in the nomin. sing. are adjectives: hælende Crist, nergende god etc. (cf. nergendne Crist, hælendum Criste). There is no reason to omit the *-e* of the nom.

sing. in any participles adjectively used, as Grein does in some instances, *wealdend* adj. *gewealdend*, unless the abbreviated form is really to be found, as *alwaldend* god. Koch is very inconsistent in this respect, but Mätzner always adds the *-e*.

That the words having *-end* in the same case should be, generally, considered as substantives: se *Hælend*, *Hælend Crist*, *nergend* god, se *nergend*, *scyppend*, *healdend* etc. (see below, noun in *-end*).

That some words which are clearly substantives, terminating in *-end* in the nom. sing., have passed over, in plural, with regard to inflection, into the class of adjectives (pl. nom. acc. *-e*, gen. *-ra*), or dropped altogether the plural ending in the nom. and acc., retaining only the naked stem. For inst. *wigend* m. (*wigendes*, *wigende*, *wigend*, pl. *wigend*, *wigendra*, *wigendum*, *wigend*), *wealdend* (*-es*, *-e*, —, pl. nom. acc. —), *éhtend* m. (pl. accus. *mine éhtend persequentes me*: Psalm. 18. 84. gen. *éhtendra* ibid. 88: 35). Comp. pl. accus. *heora éhtendas* ibid. 80: 13. 88: 20. *ƿe min éhtend* (part: Grein) *ealle sindon qui persequuntur me*. Many words, especially compounds, only to be found in plural, show forms with and without *-e* final, for inst. *sæliðend* & *sæliðende*, *foldbúend* & *-e*, *hetend* & *-e* (about these, see below adj. and noun in *-end*).

Of *wealdend*, for inst., the full substantiv form is found in the prose language: *wealdendas* Ælfr. Boeth. V: 4.

Heyne calls such words as *wigend*, *ágend* etc., Partic. Present. As far as regards the singular, he is undoubtedly wrong, as both form and sense are substantivical; and it is not likely that the words should have changed their nature in the plural.

The paradigm of the Periphrastic Conjugation, formed with the Participle Present (see p. 12):

#### Indicative:

Present: *eom*, *eart*, *is*, *sind(on)* *winnende*.  
 Imperfect: *wæs*, *wære*, *wæs*, *wæron* *winnende*.  
 Future: *beóm*, *bist*, *bið*, *beoð* *winnende*.

#### Subjunctive:

Present: *sí*, *sin* *winnende*.  
 Imperfect: *wære*, *wæron* *winnende*.

#### Infinitive:

Present: *beón* *winnende*.  
 Future: *beón* *winnende*.

Obs. 1. In the present, forms of *beón*, are also used f. ex. *bið*. Boeth. XV. XVIII: 4. Oros. I: 1: 9. Homil. II: 146. — Psalm. 129: 2. *wesan þine eáran gehýrende: fiant aures tue intendentes.*

Obs. 2. In the imperf. of the ind., *wearð* is sometimes employed as an auxiliary instead of *wæs*, f. ex. Oros. V: 2: 3. Evang. Nicod. 2. *ibid.* 5. The signification is the same as that of the common form.

Obs. 3. The imperfect not seldom stands in place of the pluperfect, f. inst. Oros II: 7: 1. II: 3: 4. III: 10: 5. IV: 11: 1. etc. This is a case of no rare occurrence in the simple form also Cf. Oros. II: 2: 2. III: 11: 10. III: 7: 5. Matth. XIII: 53.

Obs. 4. Cædm. Genes. 1732, *wriðende sceal wesan* shall be increasing, equivalent to the common future.

Obs. 5. The infinitive present, corresponding to the second form of the Present (obs. 1), is found Oros. I: 9: 2. III: 5: 4. III: 7: 1. III: 8: 2. VI: 24: 1.

Of the infin. future Koch II: p. 59 and March § 445 quote four examples from Ælfred's translation of Bede v: 8 (twice). III: 13. IV: 16. See p. 19).

### Composition.

The Participle Present forms numerous compounds by combining with words of different kinds. As the noun in -end partakes in some of these combinations, and is, moreover, so nearly connected with the Part., it seems to be most properly treated of here.

I. The Participle constitutes the latter part of the compound:

a) with the negative particle *un-* for ex. *un-lifigende*, *un-frigende*, *un-scomiende*. *un-witende*, *un-deriende*, *un-specende*, *un-swicende*, *un-forhtigende*, *un-berende*, *un-ápreótende*, *un-hwearfiende*, *un-forgitende*.

b) with adverbs for ex. *wel-willende*, *yfel-willende*, *heard-swíð-wis* *prist-deóp-hycgende*, *wid-férende*, *prym-waldende*, *efen-wesende*, *efen-eardigende* — or adjectives: *cwic-lifigende*, *eall-byrnende*.

c) with numerals: *án-búende*, *án-standende*, *twi-hycgende*. Also: *án-búend. m.*

d) with substantives, in different relations: *sweord-berende*, *rond-searo-hæbbende*, *dreám-hæbbende*, *feorh-sáwl-berende*, *syn-*

wyrcende, nið-hygcende, firen-fremmende, fold-hrérende, eorð-búende, flet-sittende, feld-gangende, lyft-fleógende, burhsittende, fyr-smeortende, cniht-wesende, etc. Many of these are used substantively, and may be nouns, as are *gár-sweord-raud* -*lind-wigend*. This combination belongs principally\* to the poetic language.

II. The Participle constitutes the former part of the compound:

a) with *-lic*. These words are exceedingly numerous, especially with the negative *un-* prefixed to them, and multiply with the time. In *Beowulf* and *Genesis* no instance occurs. Ex.: *gewitendlic* transitory, (*un*)*áteorigendlic* (*im*)*perishable*, *getácnigendlic* typical, *gewealdendlic*, *pearfend-lic*, *trymmend-lic* comforting, *fleógend-lic* volatile, *purhwuniend-lic*, *unðrowiend-lic* impassible, that cannot suffer, (*un*)*geþeahtend-lic* (*in*)*considerate*.

Obs. The Participle Present in this combination has very frequently a passive sense, so that the signification of the compound corresponds to that of the Latin derivative adjective on *-ilis* or *-ibilis* (*utilis*, *credibilis*). The negative particle *un-* is most often prefixed. Sometimes the single Part. with *un-* is used in the same meaning as the more common compound in *-lic*. Examples: *áwyrgend-lic* detestable, *áberend-lic* bearable, *un-áberende* & *un-áberend-lic* *un-bearable*, *un-ásecgende* & (*un*-)*ásecgend-lic* (*un*-)*speakable*, *un-ástyriende* & *un-ástyriend-lic* *immovable*, *un-oferwinnende* & *un-oferwinnend-lic*, *un-átellend-lic*, *herigend-lic* praiseworthy, *licend-lic* agreeable, *ondrædend-lic* terrible, *hæbbend-lic* fit, proper.

It seems that the frequency of this form has caused a *d* to be added to some passive participles combined with *-lic*: *un-oferwunnend-lic* *unconquerable* (= *un-oferwunnen-lic*), *forsewend-lic* *contemptible*. The passive part. with *-lic* is also very common and sometimes both Participles are to be found in the same sense, for inst. *un-álýfend-lic* & *un-álýfed-lic* *unallowable*, *unlawful*, *un-oferswiðend-lic* & *un-oferswiðed-lic* *unconquerable*.

The derivative suffix *-ness* is sometimes added to the Participle, f. ex. *gewitend-ness* *departure*, *unberend-ness* *sterility*, *wel-yfel-willend-ness*. There may be other combinations of the Partic. which have not been met with in the preparation of this essay.

Finally, it ought to be remarked that the gerundial form -ende (-ande) is found several times, instead of -enne (-anne), in the late mscr. F. of the A.S. Chronicle. *Cóman Crist tó wurdierende 2. Her Nero ágann tó ricsiende 49. Patricius was ásend tó bodiande fulliht 430. (tó bodianne fulluht E); tó ámyrrende 1048. (tó ámyrrenne E). Cf. 604. 669. 694.* This form has, as yet, no connexion, except that of an external resemblance, with those discussed in this part of the essay. But, nevertheless, it claims no little interest as being probably the first symptom of the assimilating process referred to in the introduction.

## Syntax.

### I.

The Participle Present is used to form, together with the various parts of the auxiliary verbs *wesan* and *beón*, that periphrastic conjugation which is commonly called the Progressive form, and the characteristic of which is that it denotes an action as being in progress at a certain time, present, future, or past. It differs in this from the corresponding simple forms, which represent the action merely as a fact, that takes, will take, or has taken place. Being the adjective form of the verb, the Part. Present naturally has in its character a shade of permanence and durability, that does not belong to the rest of the verb. Accordingly, though actions put in the simple forms also must be considered to occupy some space of time and the two forms may not unfrequently be interchanged, without infringing the sense of the passage, there will however be found to exist a perceptible distinction between their several ways of giving the same idea. This distinction may be greater or less in particular cases, but it is seldom quite effaced. By using a tense of this periphrastic conjugation, the speaker, mentally enter-

ing into the very time of events, describes the action as going on, as continuing; whereas, if choosing the simple form, he would take no notice of it from that point of view, but mention it as a fact only.

a) The Progressive form occurs very frequently in principal sentences as well as in all kinds of subordinate clauses. The most common tense is the imperfect; the future and the infinitive are rather scarce.

The time to which the action is to be referred is sometimes expressed, by a separate clause, an adverb, or adverbial phrase; sometimes it is understood, being then either the present time, or that of the circumstances related in connexion with the action, or any time whatever, as in general expressions. (cf. Obs. 2).

b) The Progressive form is often coordinate with the simple one, each retaining its own peculiar signification. Of the two actions, thus expressed, one is considered as taking place at once and then being at an end, the other as continuing for some time.

c) This sense of continuance, the origin of which has been referred to above, sometimes comes out more distinctly, as for inst., where a certain period of time is indicated, during which the action is in progress, and even more especially in such sentences as are followed by adverbial clauses stating the final point of time, or the purposed result, until which the action is thought to last.

d) Even the idea of repetition is not foreign to this conjugation.

e) But there is one usage of the periphrastic conjugation in AS: seemingly contrary to its inherent nature, viz. where it stands to denote an action that, according to the strictly logical connexion of the passage, is only just beginning. However, on closer examining this singularity of the AS. idiom, much of its contradictory character is cleared away. Instead of simply stating that such and such an action begins, by a liveliness of conception it anticipates time, and passing over the opening moment, represents the action as already in progress. This logical hiatus is more or less

felt, according to the different degree of weight attached to the commencement of the action.

It has been remarked already that the sense of a passage sometimes allows of an almost indiscriminate choice between the periphrastic form and the simple one. Some such instances are pointed out, in the following examples. There may even be found cases where the latter form may be thought more appropriate than the former, which has nevertheless, from some reason or other, been employed (see some of the examples e). But such offences against the rules of logical grammar are to be met with in every language and even in the works of writers generally accurate and correct. The train of individual thought is too varied and implicated always to conform to the abstract precepts of syntactical systems. And in an uncultured language, the literary style of which is just forming, improprieties of this kind are, of course, still less surprising. The diction of its writers naturally partakes, to a considerable extent, of the inexactness and circumstantiality of the common colloquial language.

a) *Atol æglæca ehtende wæs... duguðe and geógode*: the fearful demon persecuted noble as well as youthful men. *Beow.* 159. *Pá fandode forðweard scipes hwæðer sincende sæflód pá gyt wære*: then the fore-part of the ship explored whether the sea-flood were yet sinking. *Cædm. Gen.* 1437. *Næs ænig pá giet engel geworden...*, *pá þu ærest wære...* settling this wide creation. *Cynew. Crist.* 356. *Pá þæt mód pá þillíc sár cweðende wæs and þis leód singende wæs, se Wisdóm pá and seó Gesceádwisnes him...* on locodon: while the mind was telling such griefs and singing this song, Wisdom and Reason were looking at her. *Boeth. V.* 1. *Mid þám þeowum ic eom ealne þone heofon ymbhweorfende*: together with these servants I am soaring round the whole heaven. *ibid. VII.* 3. *Ealle pá þe on his timan libbende wæron on eorðan*: all who lived on the earth at his time. *ibid. XVI.* 4. *And hú Hanna an man wæs anwaldeþ girnende*: was yearning for power. *Oros. Introd. IV.* 5: 2. p. 11. *Tó-eácan þam he him wæs swiþe ondrædende, þæt him his fynd wæron æfter fyligende*: besides, he was very much afraid that his enemies were following him. *Oros. II.* 5: 7. *Héo ðá, seó cwén Dameris...*, *þencende wæs, hú heó hit gewrecan myhte*: she was thinking how she might avenge it. *Oros. II.* 4: 8. *God gyt settende is and wendende ælce anwaldas and ælc rice to his willan*: God is yet now settling and changing all empires and each kingdom according to his will. *Oros. II.* 1: 6. *Ægper ge Roma sylf, ge hyre anweald is má hreósende for ealddóme þonne of æniges cyniges niéde*: Both Rome and her empire are falling from age rather than by the

violence of any king. *ibid.* II: 4: 7. Hú Sicilia leóde wæron him betweónum winnende. *ibid.* Introd. II: 7. pag. 10. Cf. Hú Telesci and Ciarsoð þá leóde him betweónum wunnon. *ibid.* I: 4. II: 4. Sume men secgan þæt Nilus síe east yrnende on þæt sand: some say that the Nile runs to the east on the sand. *ibid.* I: 1: 9. (not very different from the simple form). Þonne þá Lapithi gesáwon Thesali þæt folc of biora horsan beón feóhtende wið hi: when the L. saw the people of Thessaly fighting on their horses against them. *ibid.* I: 9: 2. Geornor we woldon, cwæð Orosius, iówra Romana bismora beón forsugiende þonne secgende: We would, says O., more willingly be silent about the shame of you Romaus, than speak of it. *ibid.* III: 8: 2. (Orosii Historia Lib. III. cap. XV. Haverm. p. 179. Quid de exaggeranda hujus foedissimi foederis macula laborem, qui tacere maluissim?) Cf. *ibid.* III: 5: 4. Nú ic þises Alexandres her gemyndgade, cwæð Orosius, nú ic wille éac þæs máran Alexandres gemunende beón: having now mentioned this A., says O., I will also call to mind the great A. *ibid.* III: 7: 1. (Orosii Hist. Lib. III. cap. XI. Haverm. p. 167. Alexandri istius mentione commonitus, de Philippo . . . , qui Alex. magnum genuit, . . . colligam). Cf. myndgiend wære. Beów. 1106. — See Obs. 1 —. And by ðá, under ðæm þe he him on winnende wæs, wurdon geráde wíg-cræfta: Whilst he was fighting with them, they became skilful in the arts of war. Oros. I: 2: 1. Mordonius Xersis pegn forlét þá scipa, þe hy on færende wæron, and fór . . . : Mardonius, general of Xerxes, left the ships, in which they sailed, and marched. *ibid.* II: 5: 8. Heora án wæs Claudius hátén, se him wæs onteónde ealdordóm ofer þá óðre, peah hi him þæs gapafiende næron, ac wið hine winnende wæron, óð ðone fyrst þe hi sume tó him gecyrdon, sume noldon: One of them was named Cl., who wished to take to himself power over the others, though they would not grant it, but strove against him, till some of them turned to him and some would not. *ibid.* II: 6: 4. Þæt þá se gionga cyning . . . wénende wæs, þæt hy þanon fleónde wæron: the young king therefore thought that they were fleeing. *ibid.* II: 4: 8. Hió, mid þam healfan dæle, beforan þam cyninge farende wæs, swylce heó fleónde wære. óð hió hine gelædde on án mycel slæd, and se healfa dæl wæs Ciruse æfterfyligende: She, with one half (of the army), went before the king, as if she were fleeing, until she had led him into a great plain, and the other half followed after C. *ibid.* II: 4: 8. And hi healfe ásþeónon Læcedemonie him on fultum, and healfe Athenienses, Creca peóða, þe ær ætgædere wið Perse winnende wæron: Half of them drew over the L. to help them, and the other half the Ath., people of Greece, who had formerly fought together against the Persians. *ibid.* II: 7: 1. (Obs. = Pluperfect.) On þære stowe was Wihtred sittende Cantware-king. AS. Chron. 694. F. (a later insertion). Cf. *ibid.* 1052. D. Þy eahtodan geáre þæs þe heó Myrcna anwald mid riht hláford-dóme healdende wæs. The eighth year of her having rule and right over the Mercians. AS. Chron. 918. B. C. D. Se Hálga Gást is æfre forðstæppende of ðe and of ðinum Bearne: the Holy Ghost is ever proceeding from Thee and Thy Son. Ælfr. Homil. I: 464. Efne ðáðá se apostol þás láre sprecende wæs, ðá bær sum wuduwe hira suna lic tó bebyrgenne:



Behold, while the apostle was speaking this lecture, a certain widow bore her son to be buried. *ibid.* I: 66. He dihte þisne pistol tó... and tó eallum þam mædenlicum werode, þe him mid drohtnigende wæron, þus cweðende: He composed this epistle to all the maidenly company who were living with them, thus saying. *ibid.* I: 436. For náhte bið geteald anes geáres lust, þær ðær se swearta deað onsigende bið: As naught is counted one year's pleasure, where swart death is impending. *ibid.* II: 146. Þa wearð þæt hálige líc hál on eorðan gemét, gesundful licgende, swilce he slápende wære: Then the holy corpse was found lying whole and sound in the earth, as if he were sleeping. *ibid.* II: 152. Twá beoð æt cweorne grindende: Dux molentes (int. erunt) in mola. *Matth.* XXIV: 41. *Lucas* XVIII: 35. And þá beférde se Hælend ealle Galileam, lærende on heora gesomnungum, and hē wæs bodigende godspel þæs rices and hælende ælce ádle: Et circuibat Jesus totam Galileam, docens in synagogis eorum, et prædicans evangelium regni et sanans omnem languorem. *ibid.* IV: 23. Cf. IX: 35. Forþan hig wæron gedrehte, and licgende swá swá sceap þe hyrde nabbað: quia erant vexati et jacentes sicut oves non habentes pastorem. *ibid.* IX: 36. Þær wæron sume of þam bócerum sittende and on heora heortum þencende: Erant autem illic quidam de scribis sedentes et cogitantes in cordibus suis. *Marc.* II: 6. And heofenes steorran beoð feallende and beoð astyrode þá mægen, þe on heofenum synd: et stellæ coeli erunt decedentes, et virtutes quæ in coelis sunt, movebuntur. *ibid.* XIII: 25. (Gr.: *ἁστροὶ ἐκπίπτουσιν — σελήνη σκιδνύσκει*). Sôðlice ic secge eow þæt sume synd her wuniende, þe deað ne onbyrgað: Amen dico vobis quia sunt quidam de hic stantibus (= Gr.) qui non gustabunt mortem. *ibid.* IX: 1. Heononforð þu byst men gefónde: ex hoc jam homines eris capiens. *Lucas* V: 10. Cf. *ibid.* XIX: 17. I: 20. Adam wæs þá nyðer áfellende and þæs Hælendes cneow cyssende: Adam then fell down and kissed the knees of Jesus. *Evangel.* Nicodemi 30. (Mätzner's Grammar II: 1. p. 53). Se rynel... wearð þam Hælende geeaðmédende: the messenger prostrated himself before Jesus. *ibid.* 5 (p. 54) (in the last two ex. very like the simple form).

. b) Gnættas cōmon ofer eall þæt land..., and ægðær ge þá men ge dā nytenu unáblinendlice piniende wæron: gnats came over all the land and gave endless pain to men and beasts. *Oros.* I: 7: 1. Þá forwurdon ærest þe him on ufon wæran, and siððan þæt óðer folc wæran swá swiðe sleánde, swá hy him scildan sceoldon: those who were upon them (= the elephants) were first destroyed and then they killed many of the other people, whom they should have shielded. *ibid.* IV: 1: 4. Seó corpe tóbærst and þanon up wæs byrnende fyr wið þæs heofones: the earth burst asunder and fire flamed up thence towards the heaven. *ibid.* V: 10: 1. Hie tó ánum gecierdon and wið Egbryht West-Seaxna cýning winnende wæron: they united together, and made war upon Egb. *AS. Chron.* 835. A—G. And þý geáre Healfdene Nordan-humbra lond gedælde and syðþan ergende wæron and hiera tilgende: that year H. apportioned the lands of N. and they thenceforth continued ploughing and tilling them. *ibid.* 876 A. B. C. D. E. G. On þissum geáre com Anláf and Swegen tó Lunden-byrig and hi

pá on pá buruh fæstlice feóhtende wæron and eac hi mid fyre ontendon woldan: This year A. and S. came to London and fought stoutly against the town and also tried to set fire to it. *ibid.* 994 C. D. E. F. Cf. 1001 C. D. E. F. Nāmon him hors and ridon swá wide swá hi woldon and unasecgendlic yfel wyregende wæron. *ibid.* 994 C. D. E. F. And þærrihte æt ðam forman gedelfe swégde út ormæte wyllspring, and mid micclum streame forð, yrnende wæs: and straightways, at the first digging, an immense wellspring sounded out, and ran forth in a great stream. *Ælfr. Hom. I: 562.* Pis sindon pá dōmas þe se Ælmihtiga God self spræcende wæs tó Moyse and him bebead to healdenne: These are the laws which the Almighty God himself spoke unto M. and commanded him to keep. *Ælfred's Laws. Introd. 49.* Drihten wæs sprecende pás word tó Moyse and cwæð. *ibid.* 4. Ac bið him reordierende rodera waldend, éce drihten ofer ealle gecwyð: but the Ruler of Heavens will speak to them, the Eternal Lord will say unto all. *Crist and Satan. 627.* (In the two last examples the difference from the simple forms seems to be less important. Cf. also *Obs. 2 pag. 20*).

c) Ára þinum fæder and þinre mēdder.... þæt þu síe þý leng libbende on eorðan: Honour thy father and thy mother, that thou mayst be the longer living on earth. *Ælfred's Laws. Introd. 4.* Hú ne witon we þæt ealle men lichomlice sweltap and peah seó sáwl bið libbende: Don't we know that all men die bodily and yet the soul continues to live. *Bbeth. XVIII: 4.* Sameramis þæt ylce gewin...., twá and feowertig wintra wæs dreógende: S. carried on the same war for 42 years. *Oros. I: 2: 2.* Ealne pone dæg wæron þæt þafiende óp niht: all that day they bore it until night. *ibid. V: 7: 2.* And forðon þe he þæt gód forlét,..., and wyrse geceás, hit God syppan langsumlice wræcende wæx because he forsook the good and chose the worse, God long punished it. *ibid. II: 1: 1.* And þæt lange dónde wæron, ær þæt folc wiste....: They long continued doing so, before the people knew. *ibid. III: 6: 3.* After þam þe Rome burh getimbred wæs V hund wintrum and L, wæs geendad þæt æftere Punica gewinn and Romana, þæt hy dreógende wæran XIII winter: Five hundred and fifty years after the city of Rome was built, the second war of the Carthaginians and the Romans was ended, which they had carried on for 14 years. *ibid. IV: 11: 1.* (*Obs. = Pluperf.*) Fleónde wæron Elamitarna aldorduguðe...., óð þæt hie Damasco unfeor wæron: the chief nobles of the Elamites continued fleeing, until they were not far from D. *Cædm. Gen. 2080.* Wriðende sceal mægðe þinre monrim wes an. óð þæt fromcynne folde weorðeð, þeódland monig, þine gefylled: the number of thy race shall be increasing, until the earth, many great lands, shall be filled with thy progeny. *ibid. 1762.* On þam fleame wearð an Ueriatuses þegen þam óprum tó linge æfterfylgende, óð man his hors under him ofseát: In the fight, a soldier of V's continued to pursue the others too long, till they shot his horse under him. *Oros. V: 2: 3.* Perseus on óá ðeóde winnende wæs, óp hi him gehýrsume wæron: P. continued to war against these people until they

submitted to him. *ibid.* I: 8: 3. Cf. *Hi wunnon*, *ôð*. *ibid.* II: 7: 2. III: 7: 7. *He him bebeád, þæt hy þæt land hergiende wæron, ôð þæt hy hit áweston*: he told them that they should continue to pillage the land till they had laid it waste. *ibid.* III: 7: 5. *Hie ealle on þone cyning wæron feóhtende, ôppæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon*: they all continued fighting against the king until they had slain him. *AS. Chron.* 755. A. B. C. D. E. G. (a later insertion: editor's note). *Hie simle feóhtende wæran, ôð hie ealle lægon*. *ibidem*. Cf. *ibid.* p. 332; *AS. Chr.* 871. A—G.

d) *He bæd hi eác þæt hy gemundon þara ealdena treówa; and hy biddende wæs þæt hy from Xerse... áwende*: Themistocles also begged the Ionians to remember the old faith, and besought them to turn from X. *Oros.* II: 5: 6. Cf. *ibid.* IV: 10: 12. V: 9: 2. *Hi mid nánum pinge ne mihtan gesemede wyrðan, ær þara Romana wif mid hiora cildum yrnende wæran gemang ðam gefeóhte, and hyra fæderum wæron tó fótum feallende and biddende þæt hi... þæs gewinnes sumne ende gedýden*: they could, by no means, be reconciled, until the wives of the Romans, with their children, ran into the battle and falling at the feet of their fathers, prayed that they would make an end of the war. *ibid.* II: 2: 1. *Ælc wæs áhsiende and frinende æfter his frýnd*: every one was asking and inquiring, after his friends. *ibid.* IV: 5: 1. *Þá sceoldon on simbel beón winnende þær hit þonne þearf wæs*: These were to be waging war, wherever it was needful. *ibid.* VI: 24: 1 (this notice has been added by Ælfred; nothing corresponding is to be found in the original). And of þam geweorce was winnende wið þone here: from this fortress from time to time he fought against the army. *AS. Chron.* 878. A. B. C. D. E. G. *Gelómlíce wæs he út of þam mynstre gongende, hwílum he wæs on horse sittende ac oftor on his fótum gongende*. Ælfred. *Beda* IV: 27 (Koch's grammar II. p. 63).

e) *Se mûða wyrð fordrifen foran... þæt seó eá bið flówende ofer eall Egypta land*: the river at the mouth is so driven back by the Northern winds that it flows over all the land of Egypt. *Oros.* I: 1: 9. *Þá þá Perse þæt gesáwon, þæt him óá frambúgan, þe hi betst getreówodon þæt him sceolde sige gefeóhtan, hi sylfe eác fleónde wæron*: When the Persians saw that those were leaving them, on whom they most trusted to gain the victory, they themselves fled. *ibid.* II: 5: 7. *Ðá sóna of ðam gefeóhte wæs óper æfter fylgende*: Then that war was soon after followed by another. *Oros.* I: 11: 3. And hie late on geáre to þam gecirdon þæt hie wið þone here winnende wærun: and late in the year they resolved that they would fight against the army. *AS. Chron.* 867. A. B. C. D. E. G.

Obs. 1. Koch (Grammar II. p. 59) gives some examples of the use of the Part. Present with the infin. *beón* as an equivalent to the Latin active infin. future. Another is quoted by March § 445: 4. They are all taken from king Ælfred's version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the Ang-

les. Having been unable to procure this work to examine further into the matter, I merely transcribe the examples of Koch and March. pone sylfan rim wintra hine habbende beón, ofte he ær fore-sæde: quem se numerum annorum fuisse habiturum, ipse jamdudum prædicere solebat. Bede 5: 8. Ic getreówige me onfónde beón: me accepturum esse confido. ibid. 3: 13. Deað, þurh pone hi ne tweódon férende beón tó þam écan life: mors per quam se ad vitam perpetuam non dubitant esse transituros. ibid. 4: 16. Ongeáte hine habbende beón: se fuisse habiturum. ibid. 5: 8. It is easily seen, at the first glance, that in translating Bede, Ælfred has proceeded in an altogether different manner from that used with regard to Orosius and Boethius. The parts of the venerable ecclesiastic's history which he converted into his own tongue, he appears to have treated with a conscientious fidelity and a great endeavour at literal correspondence, only to be equalled by the minute exactness of the translation of the Gospels. Thus his style has been influenced here, and probably not little, by the Latin original. This remark applies in the first place to his employing of the accus. cum inf. after such verbs as fore-seccan and getreówigan and of the infin. after tweógan; but it may be extended also, in some degree, to the above-mentioned use of the periphrastic infinitive. Certainly there is little in the nature of the form at variance with this use of it. (Cf. Koch II: §§ 83. 84. 85.) But the fact is, and this should be observed, that it was not employed, in general, in this sense, probably because the syntactical constructions in which it would have been adopted, were rather uncongenial to the language and never gained much ground where its form was unrestricted by foreign influence. March (§ 177) considers the periphr. inf. composed of the Part. Pres. and beón to be always future. That such is not the case, is decidedly proved by Oros. I: 9: 2. Gesáwon Thesali pæt folc beón feóhtende. The other passages where this infin. occurs, all found in Orosius (see p. 15. 18.), have the infin. following after the verbs willan or sculan, and, on that account, might be regarded as constituting an intermediate link between the case of Oros. I: 9: 2. and those quoted from Bede. For although these verbs govern elsewhere the common infin. pres., it must not be overlooked that, by their idea, they refer to the action of the infin. as something future. However, this fu-

tural notion by no means justifies a classifying of the following periphrast. inf. as infin. future.

An analogous instance of the use of the indicative is cited by Koch (II: p. 63), from the Durham book (see Koch I: p. 10). Calic pone ic drincende beóm: calicem quem ego bibiturus sum. Matth. XX: 22. Gr.: τὸ ποτήριον ὃ ἐγὼ μέλλω πίνειν. This passage, in Thorpe's edition, is thus rendered: Mage gyt drincan pone calic þe ic tó drincanne hæbbe. Confer with this Lucas IX: 31. Sædon his gewitendnesse þe he tó gefyllene wæs in Hierusalem: dicebant excessum ejus quem completurus erat in J. Ἐλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ ἣν ἐμελλε πληροῦν. Joh. I: 15. Se þe tó cumenne ys æfter me, wæs geworden beforan me: Qui post me venturus est, ante me factus est. Ὁ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν. Matth. XI: 14. He ys Helias þe tó cumenne ys: qui venturus est — ὁ μέλλων ἔρχεσθαι. Cf. ibid. XI: 3. Such instances, combined with the fact that the AS. periphr. future indic. is nowhere in the Gospels (viz. Thorpe's edit.) found equivalent to the Latin classical form (facturus sum), but always to the later (faciens ero), tend to prove, that there was on the part of the translator a consciousness of the difference of the two Latin forms and a desire to make a distinction between them in his own language.

Obs. 2. The use of the periphrastic imperfect to introduce the words of a person deserves some attention. This form is employed not only when the words are given in connexion with a narrative in the past tense, but sometimes even when they are independently cited as containing an author's thoughts and opinions, which are, in fact, alike present to all times in his works. Thus we find not only: Swá se secg hwata secgende wæs láðra spella: Thus the bold warrior spoke unwelcome words. Bedw. 3028. Ac he (= Leonidas) þus wæs spreccende, geómriende: but he thus spoke, lamenting. Oros. II: 5: 4, but also: Hú Orosius wæs spreccende ymbe þá feówer anwaldas ðára feówer heafodrica pisses middangeardes: What Or. says about the powers of the four chief empires of this world. Oros. Introd. VI: 1. p. 13. From ðæm Iosepe Sómpeius, se hæpena scóp, and his cniht Iustinus wæran ðus singende: Of this Joseph, Pompeius, the heathen bard, and his follower J. thus say. ibid. I: 5: 1. And for þæm wóle, þe on þæt land becom, se scóp wæs secgende þæt Egypti ádrifen Moyses út mid hys leóðum. ibid. Cf. the corresponding simple form. Ðá sæde he Sómpeius, þæt he Iosepe þær dry-cræftas geleornode: P. also says that he (= Joseph) learned there the arts of magic. ibid. And he sæde, þæt...: and he says that. ibid.

Forðon nis ne þæs þearf, cwæð Orosius, to secgenne, forðon hit langsum is . . . : Therefore I need not relate it, says Orosius, because . . . *ibid.* I: 11: 1 and often. The present tense is, of course, also employed. Geornor we woldon, cwæð Orosius . . . : I would rather, says Orosius. *ibid.* III: 8: 2 and oft.

## II.

### 1:0.

I. The Participle Present is commonly employed in AS., referring appositionally to the subject of the sentence, to express an action which modifies and determines that of the predicate verb. The nature of the determinations brought in by the Participle in particular cases is almost as varied and many-sided as the relations in which two actions can be put to each other. Systematically, they may perhaps be reduced to the following heads, viz. manner, means, time, cause and concession; but, in fact, they are constantly inter-mixing and running into each other.

The degree of logical independence belonging to the Participle with regard to the verb finite of the sentence, is, of course, closely connected with the character of their relations. Thus it varies considerably. From being in some cases a mere supplementary definition of the predicate, almost identical with it in its idea and coincident as to time, the Participle rises through an uninterrupted series of transitions to the equivalence of a separate clause. It may be observed, in this respect, that when the Part. and the verb finite are separated by determinations, belonging to either or to each of them, the notions conveyed are in general more detached and independent; whereas, when they stand close to each other, their sense is more blended.

The action of the Participle is, in general, to be considered as contemporary with that of the verb finite. However, it is sometimes precedent or even subsequent. In the Gospels a Latin and AS. Participle Present is not seldom found to correspond with a partic. aorist of the richer and more accurate Greek, the two former languages, with a disregard of the exact distinction of time, supplying their want of the preterite form by straining the use of the pre-

sent. When precedent in time, the Part. is generally placed before the predicate, but not always.

The Participle is used, in the manner now discussed, both with intransitive and transitive verbs.

### A. Combined in an essentially dependent relation.

#### a. With intransitive verbs.

a) The Part. modifies verbs expressing a general motion (*cuman, faran, hweorfan*), by indicating the specific manner of moving. b) It is employed with verbs signifying motion (*gangan, fleógan, feallan, cuman* etc.) or rest (*standan, sittan, bídan, þurhwunian* etc.) to denote, in more or less close connexion, some concomitant action or state. c) And besides, it is found in different relations, determining intransitive verbs of various kinds.

a) Se draca nalles æfter lyfte lácende hwearf middel-nihtum: the dragon did not at all go sporting through the air at mid-night. *Beów.* 2832. Swá scriðende gesceapum hweorfað gleómen gumena geond grunda fela: Thus the gleemen of men, by the bent of their nature, wander roving through many lands. *Wids.* 135. Danaus on Arge þæt land fleónde becom: D. fled into the country of A. *Oros.* I: 8: 1. Hi fóran hwearfiende geond þæt westen: they went wandering about the desert. *ibid.* VI: 31: 3. And steorran fóron swiðe scotygende: stars were seen to shoot rapidly. *AS. Chron.* 744. D. E. Þá com ðær stæppende sum uncúð cempa: Then came there walking an unknown warrior: *Homil.* I: 452. And ðær com ðá fleógende Godes engel scínende swá swá sunne. *ibid.* I: 466. Him com ðá ridende tó sum árwurðe ridda, sittende on snáw-hwítum horse. *ibid.* II: 134. Hi ðá férdon forð-siðigende: They then went on journeying. *ibid.* II: 140. Þá com seó sæ færlice swégende: Then came the sea suddenly sounding (= rushing on with roaring). *ibid.* I: 566. Þá com se Hælend ymbe pone feórpan han-cred to hym, ofer pá sæ gangende: quarta autem vigilia noctis venit ad eos ambulans super mare. *Matth.* XIV: 25. Cf. *Marc.* VI: 48. And gangende af pá m burgum þyder urnon: et pedestres de civitatibus concurrerunt illuc. *Marc.* VI: 33 (Gr. *περὶ τῶν οὐρίδων*). And hig efstende cómon: Et venerunt festinantes. *Luc.* II: 16. Ponne þær micel stán wealwiende of þam heáhan munte on innan (pone bróc) fealp: when a large stone falls rolling from the high mountain into the brook. *Boeth.* VI.

b) Gewát þá byrnende gebogen scriðan: he came advancing, burning, bent together. *Beów.* 2569. Gif he wæccende wæard onfunde búan on beorge: if he found the guardian dwell waking in the mount. *ibid.* 2841. He wæccende bád beadwa gepinges: he awaited, waking, the battle-

meeting. *ibid.* 708. Cf. 1268. Ful oft of þam heápe hwinende fleágiellende gár on grome-þeóde: full oft from that band the yelling shaft flew whining on a hostile nation. *Wids.* 127. Sceolde forht monig bláchleór ides bifiende gán on fremdes fæðm: many a fearful pale-cheeked woman must go trembling to a stranger's embrace. *Cædm. Genes.* 1970. We in carcerne sittað sorgende sunnan wilsíð: we sit in prison sorrowing during the whole day. *Cynew. Crist.* 26. Ac meahtest þe gán singende þone ealdan cwide þe mon gefyrn sang: but thou mightest go along singing that old saying which people sang formerly. *Boeth.* XIV: 3. Hy þonne fóran wédende ægðer ge for þæs flexes bryne ge...: the elephants then ran about raging both from the burning of the flax and . . . *Oros.* IV: 1: 4. Þá gecyrdon þá hyrdas ongeán wuldrigende and herigende God: then the shepherds returned glorifying and praising God. *Homil.* I: 32. Cf. Ðá gewendon hám þá hyrdas God wuldriende and heriende. *Luc.* II: 20. Þá se uðwita . . . feóll tó Iohannes fótum, gelyfende on God: Then the philosopher fell at the feet of John, believing in God. *Homil.* I: 62. Hi ealle samod blissigende tó martyrdóme onetton: they all together rejoicing hastened to martyrdom. *ibid.* I: 564. And micel menigu stód on þære sæstrande, wépende and biddende þone Ælmihtigan, þæt hi moston . . . *ibid.* Ðá fyligdon hym twegen blinde, hrymende and cwepende: secuti sunt eum duo cæci, clamantes et dicentes. *Matth.* IX: 27. Se unclæna gást . . . gæð geond drige stówa, sécende reste: immundus spiritus ambulat per loca arida, quærens requiem. *ibid.* XII: 43. Ðá geneálæhton hym tó Færisæi, hyne costigende, and cwædon: Et accesserunt ad eum Pharisæi tentantes eum et dicentes. *ibid.* XIX: 3. Sóð ic eow secge, . . . þæt ge sittað ofer twelf setl, démende twelf mægþa Israhel: Amen dico vobis quod vos sedetis super duodecim sedes, judicantes tribus I. *ibid.* XIX: 28. Sóðlice þá sæt Simonis swegr hriðigende: Decumbibat autem socrus Simonis febricitans. *Marc.* I: 30. And symle, dæges and nihtes, he wæs on byrgenum . . . hrymende, and hine sylne mid stánum ceorfende: Semper in monumentis erat, clamans, et concidens se lapidibus. *ibid.* V: 5. And ineodon suwiende þar þæt mæden wæs: et ingrediuntur tacentes (*Vulg. and Greek only: ingreditur ubi puella erat jacens.* *ibid.* V: 40. And férde gnornigende: abiit moerens. *ibid.* X: 22. Sum blind man sæt wið þone weg wædligende: sedebat mendicans. *ibid.* XVIII: 35. Ic com wæstm sécende: fructum quærens. *Luc.* XIII: 7. Þæt folc stód geanbidigende: stabat spectans. *ibid.* XXIII: 35. Seó eorðe swá giniende bád, óð þæt Marcus mid horse and mid wæpnum þar on innan besceát: the earth so kept yawning, till M. leaped into it. *Oros.* III: 3: 3. Gyf he þonne þurhwunað cnuciende: et si ille perseveravit pulsans. *Luc.* XI: 8 (this clause is neither in the Greek text nor in the Engl. or Swed. translations). Ðá hig þurhwunodon hine ácsiende: Quam ergo perseverarent interrogantes eum. *Ἦς δὲ ἐπιμένον ἐρωτῶντες αὐτόν.* *Joh.* VIII: 7.

c) Sorgiende spræc: he spoke sorrowing. *Cædm. Gen.* 347. Þá þu gitsiende on beám gripe: when lusting thou laidst thy hand on the tree. *Cædm. Gen.* 890. Geómrnde gehðum mænað: you moan wailing with anxieties. *Cynew. Crist.* 90. Hwät bemurnest þu, cleopast cearigende?



ibid. 177. Swógað windas, bláwað brecende bearhtma mæste: the winds will roar and blow breaking with the greatest din. ibid 951. Beornas grét-að, wépað wānende wergum stefnum: heroes will lament and weep wailing with woeful voices. ibid. 993. Ne æt me hrútende hrisil scríðeð: Nor passes, rattling, the shuttle through me. Enigm. XXXVI: 7. Iohannes ... beseáh tó heofonum, þus cweðende: looked to heaven, thus saying. Homil. I: 62. Seó móðor þá ... rārigende hi ástrehte æt þæs hālgan apostoles fótum, biddende þæt ...: the mother, wailing, prostrated herself at his feet, praying that ... ibid. I: 66. Se Hāлга Gāst wundrode on lof-sangum, þus befrinēnde: the Holy Ghost uttered his wonder in hymns, thus inquiring. ibid. I: 442. And urnon hi and he tó his byrgene, and ðær wéðende swulton: and they and he ran to his grave and there died raving. ibid. I. 470. Gif ðu feallende tó me geeādmétst: si cadens adoraveris me. Matth. IV: 9 (Gr. *ἐὰν πρὸς κυνήσῃς μοι*). Lufiað þæt hig gebiddon hig standende on gesomnuncgum: amant in synagogis stantes orare. ibid. VI: 5. Of gehýrnesse ge gehýrað ...; and lóciende ge geseóð: auditu audietis ...; et videntes videbitis. ibid. XIII: 14. And on eorpan forgnýden, fæmende he tearflode: et elisus in terram, volutabatur spumans. Marc. IX: 20. Pharisei ... ne etað búton hig heora handa gelómlíce pweán, healdende heora yldrena gesetnessa: Ph., nisi crebro laverint manus, non māducant, tenentes traditionem seniorum. ibid. VII: 3. And mycelre stemne hrymende þus cwað. ibid. V: 7. Swá se líg-ræsc lýhtende scínd under heofone: sicut fulgor coruscans fulget. Lucas XVII: 24. Mannes Sunu com etende and drincende: Venit filius hominis māducans et bibens. Matth. XI: 19 (in reality subsequent). Ðá com tó him Zebedeis bearna móder mid hyra bearnum, hig geeādmédende and sum þinge fram hym biddende: Tum accessit ad eum mater filiorum Z. cum filiis suis, adorans et petens aliquid ab eo. ibid. XX: 20 (subsequent — analogous expressions not rare).

Obs. The Participle Present combined with verbs of general motion (a) is foreign to the oldest period of the language. The infinitive holds its place there. Thus in *Beówulf* and *Genesis cumān* is always followed by the infin.; and the verb *gewitan*, which is by far the most common in the old language to express general motion, is constantly joined only with that same form. This verb seems to have gone out of use soon enough and occurs rarely in prose, being substituted by *cuman*, *gangan*, *wendan* etc. *He com swymman*: came swimming. *Beów.* 1623. *Gewiton ridan*: they came riding. ibid. 853. *Com féran*. *Cædm. Genes.* 2759 (and with *farān*, *fleógan*, *glidan*, *scriðān* *gangan* etc.). But although the infinitive in this combination was gradually encroached upon by the Participle, it was never altogether superseded. It continued to exist, though not so frequently adopted. Even in some of the cases of

(b), the infinitive alternates with the Participle, especially in ancient times. It expresses the final object and aim of the motion, after such verbs as *gewitan*, *gangan*, *cuman*, and sometimes even after verbs of rest, as *sittan*, *standan*. *Gewiton him þá wígend wica neósian*, ... *Frysland geseón*: The warriors then went to visit the dwellings, to see Friesland. *Beów.* 1125. *Gewát sécan*. *Cædm. Gen.* 1460. *Grétan eode*: went to greet. *Cædm. Gen.* *Hwi eode ge út on westen geseón*: *Quid existis in desertum videre*. *Matth. XI: 7*. Even: *þá com ... idesa lædan*: then he came leading the women. *Cædm. Gen.* 1773. *Him þá Abraham gewát æhte lædan of Assyria*. *ibid.* 1767. 2621. — *Sæton onsundran bídan selves gesceapu heofoncyniges*: they sat separately, awaiting (*Koch: um zu erwarten*) their fate from the King of Heaven. *Cædm. Gen.* 842. *Stódon him on ofre æfter reótan*: they stood on the sea-shore weeping after him. *Andreas* 1714 (*Grein II: p. 52*). The slight difference, above referred to, in the senses of the Part. and the infin. in these (b) cases should not be overlooked.

#### b. With transitive verbs.

*Hwílum flítende fealwe stræte mearum mæton*: sometimes, contending, they measured the fallow street with their horses. *Beów.* 917. *Ac hy scamíende scyldas bæran, gúðgewædu, þær se gomela læg*: but they, ashamed, bore their shields, their war-weeds, to where the aged prince lay. *ibid.* 2850. *Álegdon þá tó-middes mærne peóden hæled híofende hláford leófne*: the warriors laid, lamenting, the famous prince, their beloved lord in the midst (of the pile). *ibid.* 3142. (*Culufre*) *líðend brohte ele-beames twíg án tó handa*: the dove flying brought an olive twig to his hands *Cædm. Genes.* 1472. *Feóllon þíce þær hlihende húðe féredon*: they fell densely, where they had carried their booty, exulting. *ibid.* 2066. *Strúðende fýr swógende forswælh eall eador þæt ...* the devastating fire devoured, roaring, everything that. *ibid.* 2556. *Hi áwo sculon wræc winnende wærgou dreógan*: they shall ever, suffering affliction, bear the curse. *Cynew. Crist.* 1272. *Hi beóð swiðran þonne ic and mec slítende sóna flýmað*: they are stronger than I, and tearing me, soon put me to flight. *Enigm. XVII.* *Ðá ic þá þis leóþ, cwæð Boetius, geómriende ásungen hæfde*: When I had, wailing, sung this song. *Boeth. III: 1.* (*þá woruld-ære*) *þe þu nu sorgíende án forlete*: that thou now leavest, grieving. *ibid. VII: 3.* *Iulius wépende mænde þá unáre þe ...* *J. Caesar* weeping bemoaned the dishonour that ... *Oros. V: 12: 3.* *Þæt þu scealt miltstígende forgífan*: that thou shalt mercifully forgive. *Homil. I: 54.* *Þæt folc á micclum blissígende, hérode ... þone Hælend*: the people then, greatly rejoicing, praised Jesus. *ibid. I: 564.* *Maria sóðlice heóld ealle þás word áræfníende on hire heortan*: But Mary held all these words, pondering them in her heart. *ibid. I: 30.* And *ásende hi tó Bethleem, áus cweðende*. *ibid. I: 78.* Cf. *Matth. II: 8.* he *ásende hig and þus cwæð*: *AS. Gosp.* — *míttens*

illos in B. dixit: Vulg. — *πέμψας... εἶπε*. His láréow mid biterum teárum dreóriglice wépende, ealra ðæra cildra plegan færlíce gestilde. Homil. II: 134. And hi hit (= þæt hús) ðygedon, Gode ðancigende þære swutelunge: they partook of it, thanking God for that manifestation. *ibid.* II: 272. He ealle álýsde middaneardes hwemmas swá hangíende: he redeemed all the regions of the world, thus hanging. *ibid.* II: 256. Eádige synd ge þonne hig... secgað ælc yfel ongeán eów leógende, for me. Beati estis cum dixerint omne malum adversus vos mentientes, propter me. Matth. V: 11. Se Hælend cwæð andswariende: respondens Jesus dixit. *ibid.* XI: 25. And hig beheóldon hyne sittende: et sedentes servabant (= watched) eum. *ibid.* XXVII: 36. Ne eom ic wyrðe þæt ic hys sceóna þwanga búgíende uncnytte: cujus non sum dignus procumbens solvere corrigiam calceamentorum ejus. Marc. I: 7. Gr. *κύψας λύσαι*. Hwæt dó gyt, pone folan untígende: Quid facitis solventes pullum? *ibid.* XI: 5. Swá hwæt swá ge gyrnende biddað: omnia quæcumque orantes petitis. *ibid.* XI: 24. Hwylc eówer mæg þencende ýcan áne elne tó his ánlícnesse: Quis autem vestrum potest cogitando (Gr. *μεριμνῶν*) adjicere ad staturam suam cubitum unum. Luc. XII: 25. He ástyrað þis folc, lærende þurh ealle Iudeam, ágynnende of Galílea óð hider: Commovet populum docens per universam I., incipiens. *ibid.* XXIII: 5. And æfter ðisum wordum his hors bestráð, on ðam síðfæte ðe he ðider com áwegférende: after these words he be-strode his horse, departing by the way which he came thither. Homil. II: 136 (a subsequent action).

Obs. And hyt wæs geworden, þá se Hælend þys geendude, hys twelf leorning-cnyhtum bebeódende, he fór þanon: Et factum est, cum consummasset Jesus præcipiens duodecim discipulis suis, transiit inde. Matth. XI: 1. Greek: *Καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε ἐτίθεσαν ὁ Ἰησοῦς διαρδῶσαν τοῖς δόδεκα μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, μετέβη ἐκείθεν*. Gothic: Jah varp, biþe usfullida Iesus ana-biudands. þaim tvalif siponjam sejnaim, ushof sik jainpro. This verse is cited by Mätzner (II: 2. p. 65) as a proof that the use of the Partic. after transitive verbs, in such a relation as in: she began weaving the flowers; she ended weeping etc., does not want analogies in the Germanic languages even in the oldest period. But in this he seems to be mistaken. Remark- ing, by the way, that instances quoted from Ulfilas' Bible can hardly be considered as admissible evidence on this point, on account of the powerful influence which the Greek original has exercised on its language, I call attention to the neutral demonstrative pronoun *þys*, which has been inserted in the AS. translation and which gives to the phrase quite another syntactical character than that of the modern examples quoted above. For the predicate verb *geendude* governs *þys* as its direct object and be-

beóðende comes in as a kind of appositional determination. The difference of the cases therefore is obvious. The translator apparently has gone as far in literal fidelity as he could possibly do without unpardonably violating the laws of AS. grammar. Verbs which denote beginning or ending are elsewhere followed by the infinitive or the gerund (see March § 448). For the construction of geendian with a noun (or pronoun) as its direct object, compare: þá se Hælend geendode þás bigspel, þá férde he þanone: cum consummasset parabolās istas. Matth. XIII: 53. Þá he þás word geendode. *ibid.* VII: 28. The other Gothic example of Mätzner: Bipeh þan gaandida rodjans, qap du Seimonau: ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα. Luc. V: 4. is rendered thus in Latin and AS. Ut cessavit autem loqui, dixit ad Simonem: Ðá he sprecan geswác, he cwæð tó Simone. — See p. 28 obs. about ondrædan.

B. The Participle Present is used **equivalent to adverbial clauses**, with intransitive as well as transitive verbs. Because in this case, where the logical independence of the two actions is greater, the transitive or intransitive nature of the verb finite does not influence its relation to the Participle so much as it has been found to do in several of the passages quoted above, it has been thought unnecessary to separate the examples here, especially as their number is altogether rather limited.

a) Equivalent to clauses of time. It is impossible to mark the precise line at which the Part. passes over into this class. The decision in particular cases depends much on individual taste. Ealo drincende óðer sædan þæt...: while drinking ale, others said. Beów. 1946. Þær hió syððan wel... lif-gesceafta lifigende breác: There she afterwards well enjoyed the fortunes of her life, while she lived. *ibid.* 1954. Hwæt ðá Herodes cýning þis gehýrende wearð miclum ástyred: Now king H., hearing this, was greatly troubled. Homil. I: 78. Cf. Matth. II: 3. Ðá H. þæt gehýrde, þá wearð he gedréfed: Audiens autem H. rex, turbatus est. Gr.: ἀκούσας ἐταράχθη. Swá swá Sarra gehýrsumode Abrahame and hine hláford hét, ðære dóhtra ge sind, wel dónde and ná ondrædende ænige gedréfednysse. Homil. I: 98 (time — condition). Even as S. obeyed A., calling him lord: whose daughters ye are, as long as ye do well and are not afraid with any amazement. Engl. Bible. Peter I: III: 6. Gr.: ἥς ἐγενήθητε τέκνα, ἀγαθοποιῶσαι, καὶ μὴ φοβούμεναι. Ingangende hig eardiað þær: intrantes habitant ibi — εἰσελθόντα κατοικεῖ ἐκεῖ: Matth. XII: 45. And swiðe ær árisende, he férde on weste stówe: Et diluculo valde surgens, egressus abiit in desertum locum. Marc.

I: 35. And gangende in tó þam húse, hi gemétton þæt cild. Matth. II: 11. And se Hælend cwæð, þis gehýrende. ibid. IX: 12. Mid teónum gewæcende, hine forléton idelne: afficientes contumelia, dimiserunt inanem — ἀτιμώσαντες. Luc. XX: 11.

Obs. The combination of the Part. Pres. with the verb *ondrædan* to fear, to be afraid, trans. and intrans., which is met with twice in the Gospels, is worthy of notice. Lucas IX: 34. And hig ondrédon him gangende on þæt genip: et timuerunt intransibilibus illis in nubem. Greek: ἐφοβήθησαν ἐν τῷ ἐκείνους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν νεφέλην. Gothic: faurhtidedun þan, in þammei jainai qemun in þamma milhmin. Which is the origin and nature of this deviation of the AS. from the words and sense of the original? That the Latin text, supposing it to have been some other than the Vulgate, should have rendered the Greek so inaccurately, is not very probable. It may be that the real cause of the discrepancy is nothing but mere carelessness on the part of the translator or the transcriber. But it may be, also, that whoever first made the mistake really thought of what he was writing, and intended the expression to signify that "the disciples were afraid, going into the cloud" (= ἐφοβήθησαν εἰσελθόντες = B. a). This explanation gains additional strength, almost amounting to certainty, on comparing the same verse in the English and Swedish versions of the Gospels. English: and they feared as they entered the cloud. Swedish: och de vordo förfärade vid de vordo inefvade i skyn. This is clearly just as wrong as the AS., if the last supposition be true. *Ondrædan* here is intransitive, as often, for inst. Matth. XIV: 27. Ic hyt eom, nellen ge eow ondrædan: Ego sum, nolite timere.

It may be so even in the following example, although Mätzner (II: 2. p. 65) regards it in a different light. Marcus IX: 32. Hi ondrédon hine ácsigende: timebant interrogare eum. Gr.: ἐφοβοῦντο αὐτὸν ἐπερωτῆσαι. Gothic: ohteduñ ina fraihnan. Perhaps it is too bold and dangerous a supposition to say that the AS. reading has originated either in carelessness or in a misunderstanding of the Latin text and that its construction is identical with that of Lucas IX: 34, as explained above. Otherwise, if the Partic. has really here the same objective relation to the verb *ondrædan*, as the infin. or the so called gerund generally has, it must be owned that the construction

stands as a single and unexplained fact of the AS. syntax. Cf. *Nelle þu ondrædan Marian þine gemæccan tó onfónne: Noli timere accipere Mariam conjugem tuam. Matth. I: 20. He ondréd pyder tó faranne: timoit illo ire. ibid. II: 22. In any case, it will always appear more than doubtful that the resembling usage in modern English should have any kind of connexion with this AS. form. But the discussion of that question lies outside the limits of this essay.*

b) Equivalent to causal clauses. The Participle is very seldom used as an equivalent here, although something of a causal sense may be found in some of the above phrases. Mätzner (II: 2. p. 68) gives the following example as belonging to this class. *He is úre sibb, seðe dyde ægðer tó ánum, tó wurpende ðá ærran feóndscipas on him sylfum: He is our peace, who has made both one, abolishing all our former enmities in himself. Homil. I: 106.*

c) Equivalent to concessive clauses. Even here the Participle is seldom substituted. *Forþam þe lóciende hig ne ge-seóð, and gehýrende hig ne gehýrad: quia videntes non vident et audientes non audiunt. Matth. XIII: 13 (= Luc. VIII: 10). Eálá Bebeóðend, ealle niht swincende we náht ne geféngon: Præceptor, per totam noctem laborantes, nihil cepimus. Luc. V: 5. Læne syllað, nán þing þanun eft gehyhtende: mutuum date nihil inde sperantes. ibid. VI: 35.*

II. The Participle Present is used with transitive verbs, referring appositionally to the direct object of the sentence, to denote an action which is going on at the same time as that of the predicate verb and modifies it.

The instances are not common. They approach very near to the nature of adverbial clauses of time or of relative clauses, even to the point of being generally equivalent to them.

*He slæpende fræt folces Denigea fýfþyten men: Grendel devoured fifteen men of the Danish people sleeping. Beów. 1581. Ac ic þe lifigende her wið weána gehwam wreó and scylde: I will shield and protect thee, while thou livest here, against every woe. Cædmon. Gen. 2169. Gebíðan hwonne hi þe sorgiendne forlétan: to wait until they leave thee grieving. Boeth. VIII. And siððan he hie slóh. ofer ealne þone dæg. fleónde: and afterwards, throughout all the day, he slew them fleeing. Oros. IV: 10: 10. Raðe þæs, Romane ofslógon Gaius slæpendne: Soon after, the Romans put Cajus to death, while sleeping. ibid. VI: 3: 4. Hi hine wépende of ðam westene átuon tó ðam sinoðe samod mid him: they drew him weeping from the waste. Homil. II: 148. Þá gehýrde ic þæt ðá deóflu gelæddon fif manna sáwla,*

hreówlíce gnorniende and grimetende, into ðam sweartan fyre: I heard that the devils were leading the souls of five persons, woefully bewailing and howling, into the swart fire. *ibid.* II: 350. And he sende hig bodigende Godes rice, and untrume gehælan: Et misit illos prædicare regnum Dei et sanare infirmos. Lucas IX: 2. (Obs. expressing purpose — coordinate with the infin.)

Obs. The Part. Pres. referring appositionally, in this manner, to a word in the dative case, is most rare. *Ænigm.* XXII: 9. Me bið gongendre gréne on healf. Cf. *ibid.* LV: 5.

General obs. However common this use of the Partic. Present, as shown in II: 1:0, undoubtedly is, still the general run of the language seems to be opposed to the too frequent recurrence of it. There are to be found in the Gospels, in spite of the general closeness of the translation, numerous instances of coordinate finite verbs or subordinate clauses substituted for Latin—Greek participles present. In many of these passages the English translation readmits the part., conformably to the original text.

Drithnes engel on swefnum ætýwde, and him tó cwæð: angelus Domini apparuit in somnis ei, dicens. The angel of the Lord appeared unto him in a dream, saying: *ἐφάνη αὐτῷ, λέγων.* Matth. I: 20. Sóðlice æfter þam þe hig hyne on róde áhéngon, hig tódældon hys reáf, and wurpon hlot þærofer: Postquam autem crucifixerunt eum, diviserant vestimenta ejus, sortem mittentes. And they crucified him, and parted his garment, casting lots. *Σταυρώσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν, διεμερίσαντο τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ, βάλλοντες κλήρον.* *ibid.* XXVII: 35 and often. And he ontýnde his múð and lærde hig and cwæð: et aperiens os suum docebat eos, dicens. And he opened his mouth, and taught them, saying. *Καὶ ἀνοίξας τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ, ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς, λέγων.* *ibid.* V: 2. And þá gegaderode Herodes ealle caldras . . . and ácsode hwær Crist acenned wære: Et congregans omnes principes, sciscitabatur. And when he had gathered, he demanded. *Καὶ συναγαγὼν ἐπισθάνετο.* *ibid.* II: 4 and often. Ðá se Hælend eode wið ðá Galileiscan sæ, he geséh twegen gebróðrus: Ambulans autem Jesus juxta mare Galilææ, vidit duos fratres. And Jesus, walking by the sea of Galilee, saw two brethren. *Περιπατῶν δὲ εἶδε.* *ibid.* IV: 18 and oft. Ðá gesáwon hys esen-þeówas þæt, þá wurdon hig swýðe géunrótsode, and cómon and sædon heora hláforde ealle þá dæde (obs. paratact.): Videntes autem conservi ejus quæ fiebant, contristati sunt valde; et venerunt et narraverunt. So when they saw, they were sorry, and came and told. *Ἰδόντες ἑλληπθήσαν καὶ ἐλθόντες διεσάφησαν.* *ibid.* XVIII: 31. And ealles þæs þe ge hyddað ge beóð típa, gif ge gelyfað: Et omnia quæcumque petieritis in oratione credentes, accipietis. Eng.: believing. Gr.: *πιστεύοντες.* *ibid.* XXI: 22.

**2:o.** The Participle Present is often used after verbs of cognition ((ge)seón, (ge)hýran; (ge)métan, findan), referring predicatively to the direct object of the sentence. It will be perceived at once how nearly this use of the Part. is allied to that treated of in 1:o: II, and the question may be put; why, in defining it, the same term "appositionally" has not been employed to express the relation of the Part. to the object, as in that case. It might indeed have been so. But, on the other hand, it has been considered proper to introduce here another term, just in order to call attention to the difference which really exists between the two cases. Already the fact that the Part. may be here, but not in 1:o: II, replaced by the infinitive, without any essential change of meaning, shows that the character of the constructions is not at all identical. And it should be observed, with regard to the logical connexion of the actions, that the Part. has here a more direct relation to the verb finite, which relation may even be conceived as objective, taken with respect to the abstract idea of the Part. Thus the accusative object and the Participle are also more closely joined together, and the predicative relation of the latter to the former is more distinctly seen than in the phrases discussed in 1:o: II. The case of gemétan and findan might be considered as holding an intermediate stage between that of 1:o: II and that of geseón and gehýran.

As to the difference in sense between the Partic. Present and the infin. after these verbs of cognition, it may be stated briefly to be the same as between the progressive and the simple form. See p. 12.

þær mon mæg sorgende folc gehýran hygegeómor... cearum cwíðende cwicra gewyrhtu: there one may hear a sorrowful crowd, grieved in mind, sadly bewailing their works in life. Cynew. Crist. 890. Manegum men is leófre ðæt he ær self swelte, ær he geseó his wif and his bearn sweltende: many a man prefers to die himself sooner than see his wife and children dying. Boeth. X. þá gesáwon hi Romana ærendracan on hi feóhtende mid þám burh-warum: They saw the Roman ambassadors fighting against them with the town's people. Oros. II: 8: 2. Hy hine méðigne on cneówum sittende méttan: they found him resting weary on his knees. ibid. III: 9: 17. Fýrenne dracan wæron gesewene on þam lifte fleógende: fiery dragons were seen flying in the air. AS. Chron. 793 (D. D. F.). Ic geseáh þá englas, þá eówer gýmdon, dréorige wépan and ðá áwyrigedan sceoccan



blissigende on eówerum forwyrde: the angels who had charge of you, sadly weeping and the accursed fiends rejoicing in your destruction. Homil. I: 68 (obs. coordinate with the infin.). We fundon... ðá weardas wiðútan standende: the wards standing without. *ibid.* I: 572. Gemétton niwe ðruh ... and þone ancran wið his sídan licgende: a new coffin and the anchor lying by the martyr's side. *ibid.* 564. And he geseáh Godes Gást niperstigende swá swá culfran and wunigende ofer hyne. *Matth.* III: 16. Cf. *Joh.* I: 33. Nyperstigendne Gást and ofer hyne wuniendne. Þá geseáh he hys swegre licgende and hripigende: *socrum ejus jacentem et febricitantem.* *Matth.* VIII: 14. Þá mænegu wundredon, geseónde dumbe specende, healte gangende, blinde geseónde. *ibid.* XV: 31. And ge geseóð mannes Sunu on swýþran healfe sittan hys mægenes, and cumende mid heofenes genipum. *Marc.* XIV: 62. Cf. *Joh.* II: 47 (cumendne). Þá geneálahte him án of þám bócerum. þe gehýrde hig smeágende: *qui audierat illos conquirentes.* *Marc.* XII: 28. Þá he gehýrde þá mænigeo farende: *cum audiret turbam prætereuntem.* *Luc.* XVIII: 36. Þá hine gehýrdon twegen leorning-cnyhtas specende. *Joh.* I: 37. He út-eode, and funde ópre standende: *exiit et inuenit alios stantes.* *Matth.* XX: 6. Cf. *ibid.* 3. Geseáh ópre on stræte idéle standan. Funde hig slæpende. *Marc.* XIV: 37. Cf. *Luc.* XXII: 45. *idem.* Eádig ys se þeów, þe hys hláford hyne gemét þus dóndne (obs. masc. acc. sing. always -ne in this word): *Beatus ille servus quem dominus ejus invenerit sic facientem.* *Matth.* XXIV: 46. Heo gemétte þæt mæden on hyre bedde licgende, and þone deófol út-ágán. *Marc.* VII: 30. Þysne we gemétton forhwyrfende úre þeóde, and forþeóðende. *Luc.* XXIII: 2.

Obs. 1. In the ancient period, the infinitive prevailed instead of the Participle. In *Beowulf*, *Cædmon's Genesis* and even in the *Enigmas* it is employed exclusively, and in the whole AS. poetical literature in by far the majority of cases. The Part. seems to owe very much of its frequency at a later time to Latin influence. In the Gospels it is decidedly preponderant. The infin. for inst. *Lucas* XIX: 32. XXI: 1, 2. Cf. *March* § 449.

*Oros.* I: 9: 2. the periphrastic infin. is found. *Gesáwon* Th. þæt folc... beón feóhtende wið hi. See p. 15.

Obs. 2. The verb *æteówan*, to appear, is sometimes found nearly equivalent to the passive voice of *geseón*, as for inst. *Matth.* VI: 16. Þæt hig æteówan mannum fæstende: *ut appareant hominibus jejnantes* — ὅπως φανῶσι τοῖς ἀ. νηστειούντες. Cf. *ibid.* 18. Þæt þu ne sý gesewen fram mannum fæstende: *ne videaris* — ὅπως μὴ φανῇς.

**3.0.** The Participle Present, equivalent to a relative clause, is used to define nouns of any case and position in the

sentence. Like the clauses it substitutes, it may present various shades of signification, approaching thus to the nature of clauses of other kinds. The Participle is sometimes, contrary to the ordinary usage, placed before the noun it defines, though having at the same time determinations of its own, which are collocated after the noun. It may then even be preceded by the definite or indefinite article. This peculiar arrangement of the words seems to be an original feature of the AS., as it is at variance both with the Latin and the Greek texts.

Setl wide stóðan gifum grówende on godes rice ... búendra leás: the wide dwellings, abounding in gifts, in God's kingdom, stood empty of inhabitants. *Cædm. Genes. 88.* Eallum bebeád on pam gumrice god hergendum, werum and wifum: she bade all in that land who worshipped God, men and women, to honour. *Elene. 1222.* Weard gesewen micel menigu heofenlices werodes God herigendra and singendra: there was seen a great multitude of the heavenly host, praising God and singing. *Homil. I. 30.* Cf. *Lucas II. 13. VIII. 32.* Lágon ðrý heofonlice hláfas, on lilian beorhtnyse scínende, and on hrosan bræðe stýmende, and on swæcce swéttran þonne beóna hunig: there lay three heavenly loaves, shining with the lily's brightness, and exhaling the fragrance of the rose, and in taste sweeter than bees' honey. *Homil. II. 136.* Ure Drihten hine æteowode on siðfæte his twám leorning-cnihtum, ná fulfremedlice be him gelyfendum, ac be him sprecendum: who did not fully believe concerning him, but were speaking of him. *ibid. II. 284.* Ic brohte minne sunu, dumbne gást hæbbende: attuli filium meum ad te habentem spiritum mutum. *Marc. IX. 17.* Ðæt ælc wæpned gecynde-lim ontýnende byð Dryhtne hálíg genemned: Quia omne masculinum adaperiens vulvam sanctum Domino vocabitur. *Luc. II. 23.* He mid ele gesmyrode án licgende mæden on langsumum sære: he anointed with oil a maiden lying in longsome pain. *Homil. II. 150.* He áwende þæt flówende water of ðam stáne tó his ágenum blóde: he changed the water flowing from the stone to his own blood. *ibid. II. 274.* Ic hæbbe sumne cnapan þýwendne oxan mid gádísene: habeo quendam puerum minantem boves cum stimulo. *Ælfric. Gramm. II.* Heó ys gelic sittendum cnapum on foretíge, þá hrymað ...: similis est pueri sedentibus in foro qui clamantes dicunt. *Matth. XI. 16.* Cf. *Lucas VII. 32.* Hig synd gelice cildum on stræte sittendum and sprecendum betweox hym and cweþendum. Eft ys heofena rice gelic ásendum nette on þá sæ and of ælcum fisc-cynne gadrigendum: simile sagenæ missæ in mare et ex omni genere piscium congregante. *Matth. XIII. 47.* He ys gelic pam timbriendan men his hús ofer þá eorþan: similis est homini ædificanti domum suam super terram. *Lucas VI. 49* (= like the man who built). Cf. *ibid. 48.* He ys gelic timbriendum men hys hús, se dealf deópe (= like a man who b.). *Sóð Leóht wæs þæt onlýht ælcne cumendne man on*

pysne middan-eard: *Erat lux vera quæ illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum.* Joh. I. 9. Cf. Wright Pop. Treat. p. 4. *Þæt sode leóht com þe onlýht sælene mann, cumendne tó þysum middanearde* (Mätzner II: 2. p. 68). *Bið on him will forð-ræsendes wæteres on éce lif: flet in eo fons aquæ salientis in vitam æternam.* Joh. IV: 14.

**4:o.** The Participle Present is not seldom used in the so called dative absolute. This syntactic form in Anglo-Saxon corresponds to the ablat. abs. in Latin and the genitive abs. in Greek. The dative absolute is an abbreviated clause of time or cause, generally indicating an action contemporaneous with that of the principal sentence.

The prep. *be, bi*, precedes the dative, always, it seems, when the Part. Pres. of *libban*, to live, is used in this construction.

The subject of the Part. is sometimes repeated in the same case in the principal sentence, being the dative object of its predicate. With regard to this, Mätzner (II: 2. p. 73) rightly remarks that, in fact, it implies no useless repetition, but is intended to exhibit the action of the Part. as more independent and detached.

The Participle may even have the same subject as the verb finite. When this is so, the same word occurs twice, in different cases, in the dative and in the nominative.

*Laest eall tela, swá þu... gecwæde, þæt þu ne álēste, be þe lifigendum, dóm gedreósan:* perform all well, as thou promisedst, that thou wouldst not, while living, suffer thy glory to sink. *Beów.* 2665. *Gif ceorl ácwyle, be libben'dum wife and beorne:* if a husband die, wife and child yet living. *Laws of Hlóthhære.* 6. *Swá se earn þonne he up gewit búfan þá wolcnu, styrmendum wederum:* as the eagle rising above the clouds, when the winds are storming. *Boeth.* VII: 3. *Rixiendum Eádbaldum, Mellitus fór tó Criste:* during the reign of E., M. departed to Christ. *AS. Chr.* 616. E: A (inserted). Cf. *ibid.* F. *Rixiende Eádbalde.* And *þá sóna eft, Gode fultomiendum, he meakte geseón and spreca:* soon afterwards, God helping, he was able to see and speak. *ibid.* 797 (A—G). 917 (B. C. D.). Cf. 973 (F) *Christe fultumegende.* *Her, Gode forgifendum, fór Ædelflæd.* *ibid.* 913. (B. C.) *Se Wulfwi féng tó þam biscoprice þe Ulf hæfde, be him libbendum and ofádræfdum,* *ibid.* 1053 (C). 718 (A. B. C. D. E. G.). *He ðone Godes feónd ofstang, his weard-setlum onlócgendum:* he stabbed the foe of God, while his guards were looking on. *Homil.* I: 452. 466. *Hym þá gyt spreccendum, and sóðlice þá beorht wolcn hig ofersceán:* *Adhuc eo loquente: ecce nubes lucida obumbravit eos.* *Matth.* XVII: 5. Cf. *Marc.* V: 35. *XIV: 43.* *Luc.* VIII: 49. *XXII: 47.* *Sóðlice þá sæfen com, him twelfum mid*

hym sittendum and etendum, sæde se Hælend. Marc. XIV: 18. 22. Sôðlice hig þá farende æghwar bodedon, Dryhtne midwyrceandum, and trymmendre (-um?) spræce æfterfyligendum tæcnum: predicaverunt ubique, Domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis. Marc. XVI: 20. Sôðlice þam folce wénendum, and eallum on heora heortan þencendum be Iohanne, hwæper he Crist wære; þá andswarede Iohannes: existimante autem populo, et cogitantibus omnibus in cordibus suis de J., ne forte esset Chr., respondit J. Luc. III: 15. Cf. ibid. III: 1. 21. IX: 43. Ðá sæde he hys leorning-cnyhtum, eallum folce gehýrendum. ibid. XX: 45. Cf. ibid. XXI: 26. Gif he sunnan scínendre þæt déð. Exod. XXII: 3 (Mätzner).

Him þá sôðlice þás þing þencendum Drihtnes engel on swefnum ætywde, and him tó cwæð: Hæc eo cogitante, angelus apparuit ei. Matth. I: 20. And him of scype gangendum, him sóna ágén arn án man: exeunti ei de navi statim occurrit homo. Marc. V: 2. Cf. Luc. IX: 37. Æfter þam him twám he wæs ætywed on óðrum hiwe, him on þone tún farendum. ibid. XVI: 12.

Him óá ondrædendum þæm gebróðrum, hy genámon Ioseph and hine gesealdan: the brethren being afraid, took J. and sold him. Oros. I: 5: 1. On þam dæge, þam Hælende útgangendum of húse, he sæt wið þá sæ: In illo die exiens J. de domo, sedebat secus mare. Matth. XIII: 1. Ús ymbfarendum, we þone Hælend náhwar ne gemétton. Evang. Nicod. 19 (Mätzner). And mid him farendum, he stód on feldlicre stówe: descendens cum illis, stetit in loco campestri. Lucas VI: 17 (most probably a mistake, instead of farende, caused by the preceding him).

Obs. 1. In Ælfred's Orosius the verb *ofpincan* is found four times in the dative absolute, always in expressions strongly resembling each other. In order to determine the true character of these expressions, it is important to ascertain whether *ofpincan* is a personal or impersonal verb. Bosworth, in his dictionary, asserts the first, translating it thus: to think of, to repent, to bear with difficulty, to be irritated. But Ettmüller (Lex. Anglo-Sax. p. 594) ascribes to *ofpincan* the one signification of "displicere", quoting an instance of this use from *Beowulf*. Grein, in his most valuable and accurate poet. glossary, agrees with Ettmüller (*ofpyncan displicere, tædere*) and cites one more example. March § 297. I (a) also declares the same. This opinion is further corroborated by the evidence of the following sentence from Oros. V: 9: 2. Hit wæs þá swiðe ofpincende þám óprum consulum, Pompeiuse and Catán: this was then very displeasing to the other consuls, P. and C. And lastly, it is an unquestioned fact, not to be omitted here, that the simple verb *pincan* is always

impersonal. Grein: *pyncan, pyncean, pincan videri, dūken*. On weighing the evidence thus adduced, one may, I think, safely decide, against Bosworth, in favour of the impersonal nature of *ofpincan*. Accordingly, in the examples from Orosius, given below, the dative absolute is the single Participle, and the personal datives are grammatically the objects and not the subjects of the verb. Cf. Madvig. Lat. Sprachl. § 429.

One of the examples offers a peculiar construction. The Participle Present, standing in the dative absolute, has the nominative of the neutral pronoun *hit* for its subject. But the cause of this peculiarity is explained by the sentence itself. A neutral pronoun is wanted to refer to the circumstances told in the preceding clause, and it could not be put in the dative, without being mistaken as belonging to the following personal datives.

Concerning the last example which is given below, its nature certainly differs from that of the others. But the servile conformity of the passage to the Latin text is so obvious that it has not much interest here.

Cyrus þá mid þon þe he geweóx, him þá ofðincendum and þám Perseum, þæt hi on his eames anwalde wæron ..., hi gewin uphófon: Then as soon as Cyrus was grown up, being unwilling, as well as the Persians, to be under his uncles dominion, they went to war. Oros. I: 12: 2. Xersis, swípe him óá ofpincendum þæt his folc swá forslegen wæs, he sylf þá þær tó fór. *ibid.* II: 5: 4. Þá Crece þæt þá undergeátan, and eác him swíðe ofpincendum, þæt hy..., hy þá ealle wið hine gewinn uppáhófon. *ibid.* III: 7: 4. Hit þá eallum þám senatum ofpincendum and þám consulum, þæt he... tóbrecan wolde, .... hine ofsticedon: Then the consuls and all the senators, taking it amiss that he would break their old laws, stabbed him. *ibid.* V: 12: 9. þus gebyrede Criste ðolian, and ... árisan; and beón bodod on his naman dæd-bóte and synna forgyfnesse on ealle peóða, ágynnendum fram Hierusalem: sic oportebat Christum pati, et resurgere ...; et prædicari poenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum in omnes gentes, incipientibus ab Jerosolyma. Lucas XXIV: 47. (Gr. οὕτως ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χ... καὶ κηρυχθῆναι .. μετανοίας καὶ ἀφεσιν ..., ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ 'Ι).

Obs. 2. *Æt hæbbendre handa*, literally "while the hand is having, holding viz. stolen goods" is a legal term, occurring at least twice in the AS. laws. Gif man frigne man æt hæbbendre handa gefó, þanne wealde se cyning preóra ænes, ofþe ...: if a man seize a freeman with stolen goods upon him, then let the king have

power of one of three things, either. *Laws of Wihtræd*. 26. *Ærest þæt mon ne sparige nænne þeóf, þe æt hæbbendre handa gefangen sý.* *Laws of Æthelstan* I: 1. (succeeded to the throne of England in 924).

This must be considered as another form of the dative absolute. The laws of AS. syntax do not admit of its being construed in any other way, and though it is never met with in other AS. works, analogous instances can be alleged from the Gothic and the old Swedish. Indeed, it seems very natural that such a form of expression, superseded in the general language, should have remained in the laws, these being, of course, with regard to terms, of an essentially stereotypic character. In the Gothic and the old Swedish the dative absolute preceded by *at*, alternates with the single form. In the Gothic, *at* is found for inst. *Matth. XI: 7. Marc. XVI: 2 (at ur-rinnandin sunnin). Lucas III: 15 (at venjandēn þan allai managein jah þagkjandam allaim). ibid. III: 21. IX: 43. and oft.* Of the same usage in the old Swedish, *Rydqvist (Svenska Spr:s Lagar I. p. 412)*, gives some examples. *At brinnande brandi oc rywlande röki. West-manl. Law. At honom deyianda.* See also *ibid. p. 410.* From the Old Norse one instance is quoted by Grimm (*D. Gramm. IV. p. 906*): *at upperandi sólo (orto sole).*

Obs. 3. All the instances of the dative absolute found in the works or parts of works referred to in the preparation of this essay, are quoted above. It appears then that the average occurrence of this form in AS. is less frequent than that of the corresponding forms in Latin and Greek. Even a more particular examination of the AS. Gospels tends towards proving the same fact; for the ablat. abs. of the Vulgate is several times rendered by an adverbial clause of time in AS. (and in English), for inst. *Þá se Hælend þanon fór, ðá fylgdon hym twegen blinde: Et transeunte inde Jesu, secuti sunt eum duo cæci. Matth. IX: 27. And þá hig æton, he cwæð tó hym: Et edentibus illis, dixit. ibid. XXVI: 21. Þá he þás þing spræc. þá com Iudas: Adhuc eo loquente, ecce Iudas venit. ibid. XXVI: 47. Cf. XI: 7. XXV: 5. XXVI: 26. 71. XXVIII: 13. etc.*

The signification, however, is the same; Koch (II. p. 120) cites some examples of the two forms interchanging in different AS. translations. *Matth. IX: 10. Þá he sæt innan húse, þá cōmon (Durham book: him restende in hus). Matth. XXVII: 13. Forstælon hine, þá we slæpon (Durh. book: us slépendum). Marc. V: 2. Him of scype gangendum (Durh. book: miððy he eade).*

## III.

The Participle Present may be an adjective denoting a quality of a person or thing without any reference to a certain time, that is, to the time of the verb finite of the sentence. It will be seen, on comparing the definition given p. 4, that this use of the Participle implies no change of its original signification. The fact is only that the one side of its nature has been prominently brought out here, the other being thrown into the shade. Participial adjectives are most often used as attributive determinations of nouns, but, of course, frequently stand in other grammatical relations also.

A striking instance of a Participle adjectively used is afforded by Enigm. XLI: 87. Nis under me ænig oðer wiht waldendre on worldife: There is no other thing under me, mightier than I in the world. This, however, is the single passage met with, in which the Part. adj. is compared. The manner adopted by the modern language with respect to these words as well as many other adjectives, of expressing comparison by putting more and most before them, is never employed in Anglo-Saxon. On the other hand, many instances occur in which a Participle modifying a noun attributively, has a perceptible verbal sense, even though it be preceded by the definite article, for ex.: Hereberhtus feól tó his fótum mid flówendum teárum. Homil. II: 152. Crist pone hryre þe se feallenda deófol on engla werode gewanode, mid menniscum gecynde eft gefylde. Homil. I: 32. Þæt foresæde ðrywintre cild pone gæmnigendan Cuðberhtum befrán: the afore-said child of three years asked the playing C. *ibid.* II: 134. And pá se Hælend geseáh þá tó-yrnendan mænigeo, he bebeád. Marc. IX: 25.

Compound Participles that have no corresponding verbs, are, of course, of a character more purely adjectival.

Examples (a) of the simple and (b) the compound Participial adjectives:

a) Unc flód tódráf, wado weallende, wedera cealdost, nípende niht and norðan wind: the flood drove us asunder, the boiling waves, the darkening night and the North wind. Beów. 546. Him was geómor sefa, murnende mód: their mind was sad, their mood mournful. *ibid.* 50. Wuduréc ástáh..., swógende lég wópe bewunden: the woodsmoke ascended, the roaring flame, mingled with weeping. *ibid.* 3145. Hygewælmas teáh blátende nið: livid envy raised storms in his soul. Cædm. Genes. 981. Iabal hearpan... hlyn áwehte, swinsigende swég: J. awaked the sound

of the harp, its melodious music. *ibid.* 1081. Sealde him tó bóte gang-ende feoh and glæd seolfor: gave him as amends going fee (= living cattle) and bright silver. *ibid.* 2719. Hwílum ic gehére helle scealcas, gnorn- iende cynn, grundas mænan: sometimes I hear the servants of hell, a groan- ing tribe, bemoan the grounds. Satan 134. He heofoncynige héran ne wolde, fæder fréfærgendum: he would not obey the King of Heaven, the consoling Father. *ibid.* 318. Heo woldon benæman nergendne Crist rodera rices: they would deprive the Saviour Christ of the heavenly kingdom. *ibid.* 346. Se scyppend eovm waldende god: the Creator came, the mighty God. Crist. 1162. Cwiðende cearo, wépende sár: wailing grief, weeping woe. *ibid.* 1286. 1290. Ic scyppendum wuldorcynige wácor hýrde... þonne: I obeyed the (all)creating King of Glory more feebly than. Hymn. IV: 15. Gif hio grindende peówa sío, XXV scillinga gebéte: if she be a grinding slave. *Æthelb. Laws.* XI. Forþam sint swípe tedre and swípe hreósende pás gesælda: because these advantages are very frail and very perishable. *Boeth.* XI: 2. Þá dreósendan welan pisses middangeardes. *ibid.* XII. Hwá mæg þam wédendan gitsere genóh forgifan: who may give the immoderate miser enough? *ibid.* VII: 4. Rén ábiddan set úrum hælendum Criste. *Oros.* IV: 10: 3. Nædrena mægen and heora féðe bið on heora ribbum, swá óðera creópendra, wyrma bið on heora fótum: other creeping worms. *ibid.* IV: 6: 7. Hy sealdon Demostanáse þam Philosophe licgende feoh: they gave D. ready money. *ibid.* III: 9: 2, and oft. Seó eorðe is berende missenlicra fugela: ferax. *Ælfr. Beda* I: 1. On breóstum wæg byrnende lufan metodes: bore in his breast a burning love of the Creator. *AS. Chron.* 975. A. B. C. G. (allit. verse). Man dráf þá út his módor... ongeán þone weallandan winter: against the stormy winter. *ibid.* C. 1037. Stinc- ende áttor of ðám fótum fleów: stinking venom flowed from his feet. *Homil.* I: 86. Háte baðu þe wæron hálwende gecwedenene ádligendum lichaman: hot baths which were said to be salutary to diseased bodies. *ibid.* I: 86. Þá lilian... getácniað ðá scínenðan clænnysse ánsundes mægðhádes: the lilies betoken the shining purity of inviolate maidenhood. *ibid.* I: 444. Ac hig beóð innane reáfigende wulfas: intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces. *Matth.* VII: 15. (Gr.: ἀρπαγες). Ic hálsige þe, purh þone lifigendan God. *ibid.* XXVI: 63. His reáf wurdon glitiniende: vestimenta ejus facta sunt splendentia. *Marc.* IX: 3.

b) Þá wæs Heregár deáð min yldra mæg unlifigende. Beów. 468. Eode scealc monig swíðhicgende tó sele þam heán: many a bold- minded warrior went to the high hall. *ibid.* 919. Swá hy on geárdagum gumena náthwylc... þanchycgende þær gehýdde: as in days of yore I don't know what man had, prudent, hid them. *ibid.* 2235. Þæra áne hatað ylde eorðbúende Fison: one of those, earth-inhabiting men call F. *Cædm.* Gen. 221. Eorðe swealh sædberendes Sethes lice: the earth swallowed the fruit-bearing (= pious) Seth's body. *ibid.* 1145. Hell eác ongeát scyld- wreccende...: hell also, the sin-punishing, felt. Crist. 1161. Augustus wearð swá sárig, þæt he oft unwitende slóh mid his heafde on þone- wah: he oft, unconsciously, slew his head against the wall. *Oros.* V: 15: 3.



Hí habbað... be súðan þám beorgum þá simbelfarendan Æthiopes: the ever-wandering Æ. *ibid.* I: 1: 32. Liber Pater oferwan þá underigendan Indea deóde: the harmless people. *ibid.* I: 6: 2. Her forðferde se welwillenda biscop Æ. AS. Chr. 884. F. þurhwunode swá unspēcende and mihteleás óð þone Ðanresdæg: he continued thus speechless and powerless until Th. *ibid.* 1053. C. Hold underkingc and unswicigende: a faithful and unbetraying underking. *ibid.* 1056. C. Adam wæs þá sume hwile ánstandende: A. was for some time standing alone. Homil. I: 12. Elizabeth wæs unberende. Lucas I: 7. Ðá férde he and folgode ánum burhsittendum men þæs rices: Et abiit et adhesit uni civium regionis illius. *ibid.* XV: 15.

The Participle Present, and, of course, the Participial adjective are used substantively to denote persons. The definite article may (b) precede or (a) not.

a) þæt gesælige weorud gesihð... byrnendra scóle: the blessed see the crowd of burning men. Crist. 1252. Cwániendra cirm: the cries of the weeping. *ibid.* 836. Þonne bið þæt þridde þearfendum sorg: then that will be the third sorrow for the luckless ones. *ibid.* 1285. He þá gegaderade..., ægðer ge ridendra ge gangendra, unoferwunnendlice here. Oros. III: 7: 2. Æua is ealra lybbendra módor. Homil. I: 14. Dēma lybbendra and deádra. *ibid.* I: 48. Setl gedafenað dēman and steall fylstendum oððe feóhtendum: a seat is befitting to a judge and standing to one helping or fighting. *ibid.* I: 48. Clypiendes stefn wæs on westene: vox clamantis in deserto. Matth. III: 3. Cf. Joh. I: 23. Ðu fulfremedest lof of cilda and of súcendra múpe: ex ore infantium et lactantium. Matth. XXI: 16. He ongan drifan of þám temple syllende and biggende: coepit ejicere vendentes et ementes in templo. Marc. XI: 15. Cnuciendum byð ontýned: pulsanti aperietur. Lucas XI: 10. Beforan mid-sittendum: coram simul discumbentibus. *ibid.* XIV: 10. Sóna hæfde unligigendes eal gefeormod, fét and folme: he had soon devoured the whole of the lifeless one, his feet and hands. Beów. 744.

b) Stephanus for þám stænenдум welwillende gebæd. Homil. I: 52. Þeah þe hit hefigtýme sý ðám ðrowigendum: though it be wearisome to the sufferer(s?). *ibid.* I: 452. Þám cnuciendum bið ontýned. Matth. VII: 8. Gehýre ge sóðlice þæs sawendan bigspel: parabolam seminantis. *ibid.* XIII: 18 (Engl. the parable of the sower). Þæra etendra getæl: manducantium numerus. *ibid.* XIV: 21. Þá ingangendan: intrantes. Lucas VIII: 16. Útdrifan þá syllendan and þá biggendan. *ibid.* XIX: 45. Wiste fram fruman hwæt þá gelyfendan wæron. Joh. VI: 65. An þára rihtwisenra and rihtwillendra. Boeth. V. He ealle gehælde þá yfelhæbbendan: omnes male habentes. Matth. VIII: 16. Eádige synd þá untýmendan: beatæ steriles. Lucas XXIII: 29.

Such expressions as the following, in which the Part. although employed substantively, retains its verbal nature

even to the degree of governing an object, should be regarded as Latinisms.

Næs þá fricgendra gád feorran geferede: there was no want of such as asked the far-comers. *Elene* 992. Gebiddað for eówre éhteras and tælendum eów: orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos. *Matth.* V: 45. Andswarode hym secgendum: respondens dicenti sibi. *ibid.* XII: 48. Cf. *Lucas* I: 50.

Instead of a Latin Participle, the Anglo-Saxon often shows a relative clause, for ex.: He wolde geseón þá ðe þær sæton: discumbentes. *Matth.* XXII: 11. Mycle má eówer Fæder,..., syldeð gód þám þe hyne biddað: petentibus sc. *ibid.* VII: 11. Cwæð to þám ðe him fyligdon: sequentibus ac dixit. *ibid.* VIII: 10.

The Participle is also employed substantively as a neuter, in a collective sense. Instances are rare. Þine teóðan sceattas and þine frum-riþan gongendes and weaxendes ágyf þu Gode: thy tithes and thy first-fruits of moving and growing render thou to God. *Ælfred's Laws.* 38. Náuht woruldrices fæstes and unhwearfiendes beón ne mæg: There can be nothing firm and unchanging in this world. *Boeth.* VIII. Se hagol slóh... eall þæt on þæm lande wæs weaxendes and grówendes: the hail slew all that was waxing and growing in the land. *Oros.* I: 7: 1. V: 4: 5. *Mätzner* II: 2, p. 71. gives one AS. example of a peculiar use of the Participle Present, which seems to be found, though rarely, in all Germanic tongues. þá gelamp sume nihte mid þám þe he com of farendum wege: it happened on one night when he came from an expedition. *St. Guthl.* II. Cf. á deyanda degi: on his dying day. *Rydqvist, Svenska Spr. Lagar.* I. p. 415.

## The Personal Noun in -e-nd.

The Anglo-Saxon language had no less than three equivalent endings for deriving personal masculine nouns from verbal stems, viz. -a, -ere and -e-nd. Their force is the same as that of the Latin -or (in amator, cursor), and the noun accordingly denotes the agent. As in the course of the changes which took place in the AS. grammatical system, -a and -e-nd were lost (see *Koch* III: 1. p. 77), the noun formed by the latter is, certainly, no constituent part of the English verbal form in -ing. But, nevertheless, considering its close connexion with the Part. Pres., the brief sketch of it given in this essay, may not seem superfluous or out of place. Cf. AS. dém-a, dém-ere, dém-e-nd.

For the paradigm of the regular noun in *-e-nd*, see p. 6. Words conforming to this declension are: *freónd* friend, *feónd* enemy, *wealdend* ruler, king, *éhtend* persecutor, *æfterfyligend* successor, *wegférend* traveller, *démend* judge, *fréfrigend* comforter, *dælnimend* partaker, *healdend* preserver, king, *costigend* temptator, *gyltend* debtor, *lænend* fenerator, *foresteppend* præcessor, *dréfund* hunter (Koch), *foresingend* precenter (K.) and, perhaps, some more. The nom. acc. plural of most of these words is uncertain; *wealdend* and *éhtend* show the abbreviated form, without any ending, in poetry, together with that in *-as* in prose. *Æfterfyligend* and *wegférend* have been found only in prose, with *-as*. Of the rest, I have not seen the nom. acc. plural. No information on this head is to be gained from any grammars, as far as I know. See p. 9.

*Feónd* and *freónd* change their vowel in the abbreviated plur. forms: *feóndas* & *fýnd* (also *gefýnd*), *frýnd* (*gefýrýnd*), (*freóndas*?).

Many descriptive names of God belong here. Only the singular is used, of course: *Scyppend* Creator, *Hælend*, *nergend* Saviour, *Alýsend* Redeemer, *reccend*, *rihtend* Regent, *Bebeóðend* Præceptor etc.

*Wigend*, *ágend*, *helpend*, in the poetry at least, show nom. acc. plur. only without ending (also *gár-wigend*, but *lind-*, *rand-*, *byrn-wigende*). In the prose literature I have found of these only *ágend*, in the sing.

Here may be placed, also, the rest of those numerous words denoting persons which have been referred to above p. 8. as being so differently and often inconsistently treated by the grammarians and lexicographers. Indeed it seems impossible to adduce any conclusive evidence why such words, when used substantively, must always be either nouns or Participial adjectives. Analogy and signification, in many instances, point towards the former view of their nature. But in endings they most frequently agree with the latter class. The greatest number are compounds. Only the plur. occurs. (Nom. & Acc. — or *e*; Gen. *-ra*; Dat. *-um*): *Ceaster-*, *eorð-*, *fold-*, *her-*, *land-*, *neáh-búend* & *-e*, etc., *brim-*, *heáðu-*, *mere-*, *wæg-*, *sæ-lífend* & *-e*, *lind-*, *rond-*, *searo-hæbbende*, *reord-*, *sáwl-berend* & *-e*, *mán-*, *riht-fremmende*, *burh-*, *heal-*, *ymb-sittende*, *syn-wyrcend* & *-e*, etc. Some simple words are also found, as *hetend* & *-e*, *lífend* & *-e*. Several of these above words or similar ones are used attributively.

